DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 243 987 UD 023 375

AUTHOR	Cohen, Lucy M., Ed.; Grossnickle, Mary Ann, Ed.
TITLE	Immigrants and Refugees in a Changing Nation: Research and Training. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the Catholic University of America (Washington, District of Columbia, May 13-14, 1982).
INSTITUTION	Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, DC. Dept. of Anthropology.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Mental Health, Rockville, Md. Paraprofessional Manpower Development Branch.
PUB DATE	83
NOTE	169p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Adjustment (to Environment); Anthropology; Artists; Females; Helping Relationship; *Human Services; Immigrants; Indochinese; Mental Health; *Professional Development; Program Development; *Refugees; Research Needs; Social Scientists; *Social Support Groups; Student Participation; Training
IDENTIFIERS	Afro Hispanics; Mutual Assistance Associations; Russian Jews; West Indians

ABSTRACT

The conference upon which these proceedings are based was held to draw together scholars, public officials, and representatives of private agencies in order to explore priority issues in research and training for professionals who work with new immigrants and refugees. Following a preface, which outlines the themes addressed by conference participants, and two introductory papers on the "new immigration" and issues in refugee resettlement by Roy S. Bryce-Laporte and C. Richard Parkins, respectively, papers are grouped and presented under several topics. Section II, "Innovative Research and Action," includes "W.A.P.A.'s (Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists) Refugee Resettlement Project: Organizational and Research Models," by Beatrice Hackett and David Edwards; "A Rural District's Insight into Refugee Life," and Naomi West; and "Involving Students in Refugee Services," by John M. VanDeusen and Linda H. Gray. Section III is entitled "Self-Help in Changing Communities." Papers presented here are "Changing Aspects of the Cambodian Mutual Assistance Associations Project," by Sem Yang; "The Cambodian Cluster Project," by Cynthia Coleman; "Leadership Networks in the Caribbean Immigrant Community as a Model of Mutual Assistance Efforts," by Marcos Mason; and "Support Systems for Mental Health Problems among Soviet Jewish Refugees," by Betty Brodsky. Section IV, "Immigrant and Refugee Women as Entrepreneurs and Artists," includes "Mainstreaming Refugee Women's Economic Development," by Deborah McGlauflin; "The Emergence of Immigrant Women Artists," by Eugenia Franklin Springer; and "Issues in Afro-Hispanic Development," by Dorotea Lowe Bryce. Finally, Section V, "Implications for Training and Research," is comprised of "Contextual Framework for Training," by Leila Calhoun Deasy; "Implications of Training Models for Program Development," by David Howell; "Research Issues regarding Refugees in the United States," by David Haines; and "Problems in Immigration and Refugee Research: Anthropological Implications," by Michael Kenny. (GC)

ED243987

IMMIGRANTS and REFUGEES IN A CHANGING NATION: Research and Training

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE

HELD AT

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MAY 13-14, 1982

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LUCY M. COHEN

MARY ANN GROSSNICKLE

With support from
Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration
The National Institute of Mental Health
Paraprofessional Training Branch

UD023375

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

1983

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Lucy M. Cohen and Mary Ann Grossnickle

The Department of Anthropology

The Catholic University of America

Washington, D.C. 20064

$5.00

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Acknowledgements

The conference upon which these proceedings are based was the result of extensive collaboration. The idea of the conference was initially discussed in the spring and summer of 1981, at meetings held within the Department of Anthropology, Catholic University, by the faculty, students, and the staff from the Paraprofessional Manpower Development Branch, Nation National Institute of Mental Health, and others actively involved in work among immigrants and refugees.

The aim of the conference was to draw together university scholars as well as public officials, and representatives of private agencies, in dialogue about the implication of new immigrant and refugee movements for research and training.

The central concern was to have scholars and specialists who work among new immigrants and refugees meet in a university context to explore issues of priority in research and training. Support for the conference was approved by the Paraprofessional Manpower Development Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, through the training grant, "An Applied Anthropology Mental Health Program for Latinos," awarded to the Department of Anthropology. One of the objectives of this program is to prepare specialists in the sociocultural impact of migration and resettlement.

We wish to express our appreciation to all who assisted in the preparation of the conference and the publication of the proceedings. Dr. Vernon James, in his capacity as Chief, Paraprofessional Manpower Development Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, encouraged us to conduct the conference and prepare the proceedings. Dr. Phyllis Chock, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, Catholic University, offered the

administrative support which encouraged faculty, students, and other interested personnel to bring conference plans to fruition.

We acknowledge, in particular, the assistance at various stages of the following personnel: Dr. Timothy Ready, Christine Ochoa, Ellen Kubisiak, Dr. Joan Roche, Dr. Donald L. Sepulvado, Irma Arispe, Eileen Colón, Lisa Douglass, María Elena Galdeano, María Cristina Govantes, Reverend Thomas Martin, and Reverend Jorge Sardiñas.

Drs. Edmund Pellegrino, President, Catholic University, Roy Simón Bryce-Laporte, Director, Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies, Smithsonian Institution, and C. Richard Parkins, Office of Refugee Resettlement, Department of Health and Human Services, as administrators, inspired all who attended the program. Conference participants and commentators prepared papers and thoughtful ideas, and took the time to edit these materials for publication. We give them our special thanks for their generous collaboration.

Lucy M. Cohen and Mary Ann Grossnickle

May 1983

PREFACE

Lucy M. Cohen

The subject of immigrants and refugees is a central theme in our changing nation. This Conference explores new directions in research and training from the perspectives of the newcomers themselves, of representatives of various disciplines and professions, and of other interested persons.

While there are continuities between today's immigration and refugee movements and those of earlier periods in our history, our keynote speakers highlight changes which are contributing to discontinuity with the past. In his opening address, President Edmund D. Pellegrino underscores his belief that few topics could be closer to the mission of this University than those addressed in this Conference. He challenges all of us to wrestle with the difficult questions of how to meet the aspirations and hopes of the many who wish to come to our country today, in the face of complexities and difficulties in the processes of immigration and emigration.

Roy S. Bryce-Laporte, who is himself an immigrant, emphasizes that immigration is an ongoing process, essential in the development of our society and, in fact, in the evolution of our hemisphere. Nevertheless, since 1965, with the passage of the Immigration Act, there has been a significant increase in the number of newcomers to our country. The new immigrants, as the wave has come to be known, are not a simple extension of those who had entered earlier but they represent a distinctive configuration of nationalities, legal statuses, occupations, sex ratios, and age categories. More specifically, the new immigration is marked by a significant proportion of undocumented workers, refugees, and women. It has a large non-European component drawn from Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America, and, is therefore,

extremely visible.

With this flow of newcomers, there has been a reexamination of official immigration and refugee policy in the United States as the subject of asylum and resettlement has assumed increased importance. C. Richard Parkins emphasizes that the refugee policy which has to evolve today should reflect a reconciliation between the domestic concerns of the nation and the pressures of international communities. The role of the United States government is no longer limited to its gatekeeping functions of imposing negative sanctions and quotas for non-desirable peoples. Government has assumed a major role in resettlement, together with the citizenry and agencies traditionally involved in refugee work.

Participants and commentators were invited to share their knowledge and experiences on one of four specific topics which were addressed in the Conference, as follow:

1) Innovative Research and Action.- Although there is a long tradition of scholarly study and of service among immigrants and their communities in the United States, there are few known efforts to implement models in which knowledge and practice are brought together for their benefit. Beatrice Hackett and David Edwards, as representatives of the Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists (W.A.P.A.) show how the wide-ranging knowledge and skills of members of the organization can be put to service in refugee resettlement. Success in these projects can have far-ranging impacts in the communities where the newcomers settle. Members of a sponsoring association, W.A.P.A. experience, in turn, a revitalization born out of

the spirit of altruism, to complement the objectives of self-interest which characterize professional associations.

Naomi West's life-long dedication to the organization of volunteer efforts among refugees, under the auspices of the Church of the Brethren, is basic to the tradition of voluntary social welfare action in the United States. This work, however, is not only the result of an adherence to lofty, humanitarian ideals. She has a commitment to the systematic search for solutions to oppression and injustice in the arenas of international politics which she identifies as the causes of the forced uprooting of peoples.

Despite the innovative work of individuals and community organizations among newcomers, John VanDeusen and Linda Gray indicate that the overall number of college and university students who have been involved in refugee services in the United States and abroad has been small. The model which they describe demonstrates ways in which language and cultural gaps are bridged with a modest investment of training and supervision.

George Weber, as commentator for this section, emphasizes that the substance and inspiration raised by innovative models stimulate us to think broadly about immigrants and refugees in terms of shared or conflicting customs and beliefs, in terms of the awareness of knowledge and mastery of skills needed in adaptation, and in terms of the models of service required to allow the newcomers to relate meaningfully and productively. He calls for an understanding of the range of sentiments evoked by difficulties in coping with the new culture, and urges the development of policies, procedures and techniques which can most effectively address these problems.

2) Self-Help in Changing Communities.- As the tragedies of terror and death befall a country, and as populations are forced to flee from their homeland, leaders arise to organize self-help groups which assist in meeting the needs associated with flight and resettlement. Sem Yang and Cynthia Coleman document the emergence of a self-help network of organizations among Cambodians in the United States and the model of action which has become known as the Cambodian Cluster Project.

Marcos Mason has worked with a special project of the Urban League of New York to determine the impact that undocumented immigration has had in that area. The research focuses on Black immigrants most of whom are from the Caribbean. He documents the vitality and effectiveness of the mutual support functions of several hundred informal and formal organizations and their leaders. Betty Brodsky's study of support systems for mental health problems among Soviet Jewish refugees in New York City emphasizes the mismatch which can occur when mental health professionals fail to recognize the dynamic interdependence of emigrés with relatives and friends. Both Brodsky and Mason offer research findings of importance in the training of volunteers and professionals interested in services to new immigrants.

Leonard Borman, as commentator, emphasizes that among populations beset by a shattering of trust and by far-reaching alienation and estrangement, self-help groups provide a firm pillar upon which they can rely and trust. Endurance, commitment, and a sharing of similar experiences are basic unifying principles among self-help group members. He urges community agencies and professionals to recognize these organizations, for at the core of this movement lies the principle that participation and

involvement are not only good therapy but good citizenship as well.

3) Women as Entrepreneurs and Artists.- The women who have settled in our midst have emerged as active contributors in all aspects of American society. Deborah McGlauflin's work shows that until recently programs for refugee women had not given priority to supporting their economic activity. Their needs had been associated with passive dependence and the homebound isolation connected with their roles as wives and mothers. Yet typically, the resourcefulness and flexibility of refugee women leads them to make major economic contributions to their families and communities. McGlauflin clearly shows that refugee women today demonstrate a potential for self-help which must be recognized and supported by host American communities.

The struggles involved in the lives of immigrant women as they seek to transform themselves and to rise to leadership are documented by Eugenia Franklin-Springer. Women from the Caribbean community in the nation's capital are engaged in a wide range of entrepreneurial activities. Some have risen to prominence and a few have received public recognition for their activities. In the course of their careers they have followed diverse patterns of interrelationship with their families and their host communities. Biographic materials document these rich experiences.

Dorotea Lowe Bryce's description of her life as an Afro-Hispanic immigrant from Panama sensitizes readers to the problems which can have impact on training programs and services among heterogeneous communities of immigrants. People of Afro-Hispanic heritage within larger Hispanic communities have made major contributions as "brokers" linking Hispanic

populations with Whites or Blacks. They have helped in the advancement of Black and Hispanic minorities in areas which range from leadership in civil rights to appointments to faculty positions in leading universities. For the most part, however, their contributions have gone unrecognized. Researchers should also document changing trends as new generations of Afro-Hispanic migrants settle in the United States.

As commentator, Leila Calhoun Deasy points to similarities in the experiences of women which are striking, irrespective of color or ethnicity, or, whether women be native-born or immigrants. The details of the relationships of women differ as a function of culture and of personal experience, but all are embedded in webs of kinship relationships. She points to factors which place refugee and immigrant women in double jeopardy due to prevalent American values about sex role relations and the allocation of power in American society.

4) Implications for Training and Research.- Invited discussants who represented academic institutions and a government agency elaborated on the implications of the Conference for training and research. Leila Calhoun Deasy proposes that the familiar framework for training, based on the five W's "Who, Why, What, Where, and When," can serve as a means to conceptualize the contributions that training can make for refugees and immigrants. She suggests that the preparation of intermediaries or trainers to work with immigrants and refugees should receive attention and she emphasizes the importance of having mutual exchanges in this training, including evaluative feedback.

David R. Howell draws attention to the viewpoints of refugees, of immigrants and of program development personnel concerning training. He shows that the

desire and motivation for self-help is a prevalent theme, and that community-generated training holds potential for improving the quality of life of refugees. Howell does not believe that training of refugees should be a substitute for "real" life experiences but proposes, among other plans, on-the job training, or evening programs which allow recipients to carry on a "normal" daily life.

David Haines limits himself to a discussion of studies among Southeast Asian refugees. He suggests that the next steps to follow in research include, first, to refine the analysis of particular aspects of refugee adjustment such as economic adjustment, and to provide a better understanding of the details of adaptation within families and kin. Secondly, he cites the need to broaden the perspectives used to understand refugees. While much of the concern of the American public about refugees revolves around self-sufficiency, there are many questions about the cultural values, social patterns, and occupational and linguistic skills they bring with them which he believes have impact on the course of their careers in this country.

While focussing on the substance of the Conference, Michael Kenny addresses his remarks to the more general problems in immigration and refugee research, ranging from comparisons between organization-directed movements of peoples to the more loosely organized chain-migration processes sponsored largely by networks of relatives and friends. Research needs to be directed to an examination of the influence of the presence or absence of the tradition to migrate among a population, and its impact on processes of resettlement. Investigations should take place on the effect effectiveness of various types of support groups in migration, ranging from

kin, friends, and clubs, to the structures of institutions and agencies. Kenny as well as other discussants believe that knowledge of the migrant's history is useful information from which to project and predict patterns of adaptation. It is also an important segment of the human experience which influences the thoughts and yearnings of persons for whom a homeland remains a symbol which evokes deep aspirations, high hopes, and nostalgias.

The papers and comments from this Conference all share the hope that research and training on the subject of immigrants and refugees in a changing nation will provide insights and useful materials for a better understanding of the social and cultural worlds of our most recent newcomers. Questions remain about the impact of national and international events on the lives of migrants and those with whom they interact in host communities.

As these Proceedings go to press, there are indications that Congress may vote on new immigration legislation, H.R. 1510, "Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1983." Passage of such legislation would affect not only those who enter the country and people in the host communities but also the institutions with which they interact. These issues deserve continued study, discussion, and feedback to those concerned about the future of all persons in our society.

I. INTRODUCTION

WELCOMING REMARKS

Edmund D. Pellegrino
President
The Catholic University of America

One of the rituals that seems unavoidable at a meeting held at a university is the "few remarks" expected of the president. I know you are hoping they will be few - and I promise you they will be. I could not in good conscience forego the opportunity of welcoming you to this campus, however, and congratulating the members of our faculty who have been instrumental in bringing you here to attend this Conference.

I don't think I need to tell you how important the subject is in today's world. A large segment of the population of the world lives under such intolerable conditions that they wish to emigrate. It is, despite our short-comings, still the great glory of our country that so many people wish to come to our shores. We do not need to build a Berlin Wall to keep our people from emigrating. Our problem is rather to what extent and under what conditions we can open our doors to all who might wish to make their homes with us.

As my name so plainly signifies, it was not very long ago that my own great-grandfather and great-grandmother took advantage of the opportunity to leave centuries of poverty behind and to seek new opportunities in this wonderful land. I have a special feeling, therefore,

for what America must still mean to the millions who do not have the opportunities this great country still affords all who come here with a willingness to work and contribute to our society.

Few topics could be closer to the mission of this University than those you will be addressing in this Conference. A university, like ours, under Catholic and Christian auspices must seek new knowledge in every field and help to apply it to the most urgent human problems. Only in this way can we, in fact, fulfill the mandate given to us by His Holiness Pope John Paul II when he spoke at this campus a few years ago. On that occasion, he urged us to engage not only in research and in the fusion of faith and culture, but also to develop "an operative Christian community."

We are pleased to have you with us to consider some of the world's most pressing problems and to do so under the auspices of our faculty. May I congratulate this faculty for selecting this topic and organizing this Conference.

It may be that you, like so many of those who visit us, are not entirely familiar with the history, character, mission and present purposes of this University. I hope you will allow me to tell you a little bit about The Catholic University of America. I think it will increase the enjoyment of your stay, and help to place this Conference within the context of our larger mission.

This is called The Catholic University of America. It is the national Catholic University and in this respect it is unique. Every institution is "unique" in some way, of course. The credentials of our uniqueness are particularly impressive. First, this is the <u>only</u> Catholic University founded by the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the United States. Second, this is the <u>only</u> Catholic University with three canonical faculties -

theology, law and philosophy. Each of these faculties gives ecclesiastical degrees. For this reason, they are governed by a special Apostolic Constitution entitled "Sapientia Christiana." This ecclesiastical status gives our University a special and particular relationship to the Holy See which, in a sense, "accredits" our ecclesiastical degrees. A third source of our uniqueness - not well enough known - is that we are the only Catholic University founded expressly for the purposes of graduate education. With remarkable prescience the Bishops of America foresaw the importance of research and graduate education, at a time only shortly after the first Ph.D. had been given in this country. Even today, over half of the students of this institution are pursuing graduate study and in the widest variety of fields available at any Catholic university today. Fourth, this is the only Catholic University that is a founding member of the Association of American Universities, which includes the fifty most prestigious research universities in this country.

Ten separate schools comprise this University: Arts and Sciences; Education; Engineering and Architecture; Library and Information Sciences; Law; Music; National Catholic School of Social Service; Nursing; Philosophy; and Religious Studies. They offer a broad range of academic experiences and opportunities. We give doctoral degrees in more subjects than any Catholic university in this country. We have educated at least half of the present members of the hierarchy. More presidents of universities in this country are graduates of our institution than of any other Catholic institution or of the preponderance of even the most prestigious universities in this country. Our graduates hold positions of eminence in every aspect of the activity of the Church - education, health care, social science research, social services and ecclesiastical administration.

We are proud of the history and accomplishments of The Catholic University of America and of its place in the world of higher education.

Let me wish you success in this Conference and particularly to express my gratification at your interest in the fate of those people who seek ardently to come to our shores. You must wrestle with an extremely difficult question of how to meet the aspirations and hopes of the many who wish to come to America in the face of the complexities and personal difficulties of immigration and emigration.

Let me express my gratitude to all of you for what you are doing to assist and to help those who are entering this country to cope and to adapt to our language, our customs, and our political and social structures. Thank you, particularly, Professor Cohen, for your leadership in organizing this Conference and for giving me the opportunity to address you today.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE NEW IMMIGRATION

Roy Simon Bryce-Laporte, Ph.D.
Director, Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.

President Pellegrino, Madame Chairman, members of the panel. The pleasure is mine to be here this morning because the subject about which we speak is not one that I relate to simply from an academic or professional point of view. I, too, am an immigrant. As my names would suggest, I am the product of many immigrations. And given the year (1959) in which I came to this country, I would say that I just missed being considered a new immigrant, myself. So, what I say as well as study, all, are related not simply to the training that I may have had or the calling that I may have received professionally. They relate also to my very personal experiences, aspirations, and perceptions of the kind of reality we live in as immigrants, and to my thoughts as to what we must be able to do as immigrants in order to contribute to the shaping of that reality. These are some of the reasons for me to be grateful for this invitation.

Let me state, however, that I would like especially to discuss one of these reasons. It has to do with the new immigration itself. It is about seventeen years now since the last major immigration legislation was passed by the United States Congress and it seems that perhaps we are closer now than ever before to having another set of legislations passed; i.e. the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill. Depending on what final version is passed,

we may indeed see the end or drastic curtailment of further immigration, or any future serious wave of new (legal) immigrants into this country. Certainly, there will be some areas of clarification over legislation which was passed before. And, the outcome of the debate will reflect no doubt the power of various interest groups in the United States, but unfortunately not always the interests of powerless immigrants.

The term immigrants really began to be used within the United States only after Independence and the formation of the American nation. Prior to that, people were in such categories as settlers, servants, slaves, or strangers. But immigrants happen to be a category that was created as American citizens began to see themselves as insiders, versus aliens as outsiders. Not being critical at this time I am just trying to suggest here something of the origin, relatively recent emergence in use, and the persistence in perception of a term and notion within the history of the United States. Immigration laws were not in existence at the beginning of the Republic, but over time laws were to be devised beginning with restrictive, selective, and prohibitive acts for determining who could enter the country legally. Later, major policies and legislative actions began to be passed, as well, which not only determined who would be an immigrant but who could not be an immigrant, what kind of immigrant one would be if admitted into the country, and therefore, the kinds of rights and privileges that said emigrés or class of immigrants would enjoy.

So today we speak about legal immigrants and non-immigrants, parolees or refugees, illegal immigrants and I suspect if some of the pending legislation is passed, this will be extended to include new categories of temporary and interstitial statuses, especially for those receiving various forms of amnesty and others permitted to enter as guest workers.

I also believe that neither the border patrol nor employment controls, nor the amnesty clauses will wipe away illegal immigration. While treated widely as a legal artifact, illegal immigration is really a symptom of national and international inequalities, population growth, and increasing technological and financial facilities for travel. Added to this is their determination to seek out in this their planet, a new frontier, and new space as a resource and resort for their felt needs, and rising aspirations.

So, immigration, the phenomenon with which we are dealing, is in itself an ongoing process. It is also a process that has been essential in the historical, political, socio-economic and cultural development of our society, and in fact, throughout our American hemisphere.

We know that since 1965, with the passage of the Immigration Act, there has been a significant increase in the number of immigrants. I would like to just simply point out that since the period from 1965 through 1978, a record of about 5,270,016 persons have been registered legal immigrants in this country. There is also a sizeable number of people who came in as legal non-immigrants, and changed their status. There are others who have entered illegally or fraudulently and others who have violated their status and thus contribute to the presumably large category of illegal immigrants found in the continental United States and its overseas jurisdictions. And, then there are the refugees, the numbers and new categories which I will leave for the next speaker to deal with.

A recent statement of estimates by the Census Bureau suggest that a significant number, which approximates thirty-three million people, speak a foreign language in the United States. Fifty percent of those speak Spanish. Census figures also suggest that there is an increase

of foreign-born people from 9.6 million in 1974 to 16.6 million in 1980. While the growth of this latter sub-population in the United States cannot be attributed to the new immigration alone, the increase in number breadth of selection of people of foreign birth certainly can be attributed to the New Immigration. The same may be said of certain qualitative changes and shifts which our society will face in the immediate future.

A second special reason for being pleased with the invitation relates to my presence in Washington, D.C., a city to which I immigrated a little more than ten years ago, when I came from Yale University to the Smithsonian Institution as a consultant, with the intention of being absorbed into its structure, as founding director of the Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies. As an observant immigrant and sensitive student of U.S. society, I was quite aware early in the sixties that new streams of immigrants (not only refugees) were coming into this country; I recognized that a phenomenon of significant impact was taking place in the cities of the United States, including Washington, D.C. but realized that the majority of the American public--official, private and academic--was not aware of this development. More than that, many of those who were aware of the ongoing phenomenon felt so threatened by it that they were concerned mostly with presenting the most negative features of this movement, escalating issues and numbers, and sometimes utilizing the movement and the people who comprised it as causes of all the country's problems, and therefore proposing their removal or termination as a cure-all. Call it what you may--racism, isolationism, or reactionism--it was a short-sighted, superficial and shameful distortion of reality, as well. But this they advocated, rather than to confront the phenomenon of

immigration itself, or to try to comprehend its causes and its constituents, or to come up with some useful, responsible solutions. It was in an effort to expand our insight, to provide correct information on what was occurring to give intellectual direction to the resolution of problems involved, and to enhance our appreciation of the novelty and potential represented by new immigrants that the Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies (RIIES) assumed its promotional responsibilities.

The new immigration is important particularly because it is, on one level, a phenomenon. It is a phenomenon which is best understood in terms of international economic relations; it is a phenomenon which is shaped largely by national legislation, and it is a phenomenon which is felt most by the local communities and the immigrants themselves. So in considering immigration there exist the underlying issues of an absence of parity among peoples and localities involved, and an absence of information on the ethnic and cultural presence which continues to take place in our midst. Today, as a consequence of the efforts of the RIIES, a serious effort is being made by scholars to undertake research, to disseminate findings, to propose policies, and to evaluate political actions about new immigration. I say this humbly, claiming no more than my felt duty as an immigrant and realizing that what we have done is not so great relative to what should have been done. In our own way we at RIIES, are proud to have sponsored, in 1976, the first major conference in this country in which academicians and policy makers discussed the question of the new immigration. We published what is perhaps still the only major collection of academic work on new immigration, Sourcebook on the New Immigration: Implications for the United States and International Community (Bryce-Laporte 1980).

We circulate multiple series of smaller publications on aspects of that immigration such as quantitative and qualitative methodology, special bibliographies, female immigrants, comparative Caribbean migration, and return migration and remittances.

Our publications include the only monograph on Latino immigrants in Washington, D.C. This work entitled, Culture, Disease and Stress Among Latinos in Washington, D.C., was authored by a friend of us all, a former fellow of the Institute, and the organizer of this Conference, Dr. Lucy Cohen (1979). I cite this work not as a courtesy but because I think it is significant in terms of what we are doing here, today. For those of you who may have had the opportunity to read that book you will come to realize that it has very important contents, none of which I am going to try to summarize here and now. I just want to speak a bit about its implications.

Culture, Disease and Stress among Latino Immigrants reasserts some points which we at RIIES have always maintained in our public position; namely that immigration is not a process but it is also people. That is to say that there is immigration and there are immigrants, and that these domains have different kinds of properties and problems which we must begin to understand and to develop some sensitivities about, including their interconnections. In her work, Professor Cohen focuses, particularly, on female immigrants and family problems in a local urban situation. These foci are remarkable because they start to enter into certain specifications about immigrants themselves, varying conditions in which they are found, and various challenges and cultures which they bring.

The book reminds us, however, that immigrants are not only the creators or bearers of problems. That is, they do not only have the problems but

they also bring with them potentials for understanding these problems, as well as those of their neighbors, and the larger host society. If these potentials were taken seriously many immigrants would become role models for other members of the urban society. This is particularly true and telling in the case of the Latin American female. She often will have been minimally active or dominant in matters of public domain back home. She now finds herself being the first or only legal person in her present household, given the limitations of the law and the attraction for domestic workers in Washington, D.C. Subsequently, she sends for others, usually her spouse, children, siblings, or parents whom she must support in ways and to an extent beyond what she has accomplished before. And she must, in many cases, intervene in their behalf vis-a-vis the public, and therefore must acquire quickly the language, skills, confidence, public orientation and sophistication to meet both her new job and new family roles--an intricate overnight conversion of role, image and status with some interesting consequences that we have only now begun to observe.

The book demonstrates another point that RIIES has tried to propagate from its inception--the inter-connections between research, policy and services. Despite my own past connections with Yale University, other universities, and the Smithsonian Institution, my concern with knowledge has been more than an end in itself. Even though I confess that in my private dreams what I like most is the intrinsic aspects of scholarship, as a responsible citizen, and more so a public servant, it seems to me a duty to do much more than to learn for its own sake alone. One has to do something with his learning; one has to contribute to the greater good and try to make of the world a better place to live because of one's presence in it. Lofty idealism? Maybe so. I suspect that all this may

have something to do with my growing up; it may be a lingering impact of an early exposure to Catholicism. Maybe there is a sense in which this is an effort on my part not to trust all on my faith but to gain indulgence so that when the question is asked of me that I may have on my record "acts of charity or goodwill" to show in return for added grace, mercy and salvation. Yet, I want to believe it to be other than a secular translation on my part of my latent religious retention. I feel it to be more than a matter of personal connection at work here. I feel I share with all of you here--academicians, activists and advocates--the common acceptance of a sense of duty to render service and to help others, especially the needy, which is an important part of our mission--as members of the human society. Call it what you may--Unitarianism, Christianity, humanism, altruism, morality, ethics, civic duty, or social responsibility--this ought to be the most important purpose for our seeking funding, doing research, publishing and trying to affect policy.

The social sciences in the United States emerged out of the concern for the downtrodden, the poor, and, in particular, immigrants and minorities in a changing, urbanizing society. It was a very essential aspect in the formation of our disciplines and professions, particularly, for urban sociologists, anthropologists and social workers. Nonetheless, for some time we have experienced an abandonment of that concern, especially as it regards immigration and the immigrant. And while, lately, we have seen the resurgence of interest among our peers and pupils in the study of immigration, even now their concerns are with <u>sociological</u> (professional) problems--the causes, origins and past and present conditions of immigrants and their countries, etc. Their questions are mostly of a high structural nature which in themselves are not wrong, but

these are really concerns with context rather than constituents. What Professor Cohen's book does and what is obviously the purpose of this Conference, as well, is to complement such concerns, to bring us down to a more pertinent and pressing level of concern, the level of social (human) problems. And there we enter into another domain of policy directed not simply to matters of selection and entry status but with the situation of people after they have come.

Herein are raised an entire set of new issues that we must be concerned with, that must be considered. We must begin to seek out, view and study them in a different, more active and important light than statistical variables, or categorical units of systems and processes. We must see new immigrants as bearers of cultures; we must see them as people themselves; we must understand their problems on that level--as fragments of old families, communities and cultures and as segments of new families, communities and cultures. We must ask of ourselves what can we do to assist them in their new experiences? What must be done to give them support and recognition in the absence of any promise to do so by government or the newly proposed legislation? How can they or even their problems and cultures help us and this society?

Strangely the vital political changes which are taking place in American society, in a sense, make new immigrants, particularly the illegal ones, mainstreamers already. They are really avant-garde. They are ahead of most of us. In fact, they are where we may all be going; certainly how we are all being asked to go. Insofar as the principal philosophy of this particular administration is to draw people away from reliance on governmental intervention as a solution to public problems and steer them to rely upon private or local resources and personal resourcefulness, then

immigrants are already in the mainstream. In that sense, the illegal immigrants may well be our most adequate role model, for indeed more than any other set of people in this society, they have had to draw upon their own resources or resourcefulness in order to survive and progress.

As I end, I simply want to remind you, therefore, that immigration is not the simplistic matter of foreigners coming to rape the United States of its greatest goods and depriving the American-born of their inalienable rights and earned opportunities. Among other things, it is a matter of economic balancing, societal maintenance and the revitalization of the faith about what we have learned to be most distinctively American: (1) the promise that if you work hard you will succeed; and (2) the belief that this is a country of safety, freedom and open, equal opportunities which acknowledges accomplishment much more than origin. On that level prospective and present immigrants are quite American or non-American, depending on how you see it. They are more convinced and committed to those ideals than many of the citizens whom someday they may come to resemble.

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ISSUES IN REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

C. Richard Parkins
Director of Operations, Office of Refugee Resettlement
Department of Health and Human Services
Washington, D.C.

I bring greetings as well as regrets from Phillip Hawkes, the Director of our Office. He would have liked very much to have been with you this morning. An anthropologist by training, he would have immensely enjoyed the opportunity to have an exchange with you but he is in California tending to some rather serious refugee matters that confront the Office in that state.

Dr. Bryce-Laporte has set forth some very significant issues and I would hope that the deliberations of this Conference would direct considerable attention to those concerns. I am rather pleased to be here, because not only do I have academic training and research interest in the problem, but also an immediate operational relationship to it. There needs to be an increased amount of dialogue between the practitioners who assist refugees to resettle and the people who are engaged in research. We need research, in particular, because for better or for worse, the federal government has a key role to play in the problems of refugee resettlement. Often, that role is carried out without much information, or criticism, or, the realities that research data can introduce. A dialogue such as this one can enrich experiences for all of us. I trust that in setting forth my remarks I can indicate some of the major concerns and some of the issues

which we see as federal civil servants who work with the Office of Refugee Resettlement.

My perspective, of course, is limited to the refugee issues. Dr. Bryce-Laporte quite correctly pointed out that refugees are a special category of immigrants, and as you know the Refugee Act of 1980 is now being considered for extension, and reauthorization. From the standpoint of refugee resettlement, this is a very critical period for all of us who are engaged in refugee affairs either at the grass roots level or at an official policy level. There are many events and developments that are emerging which are troublesome. They are attributed to the complexity of the program and, obviously, they present the need for some resolution. Let me suggest a few of these developments.

In the first instance, we have to recognize that refugees, like all of us, tend to relocate in areas that are in some major way compatible with their needs, and with their aspirations. So, one of the problems that we face in this country is that approximately eighty percent of the Southeast Asian refugees are located in the Western states. There are other refugee groups but, at present, from a total of some 120,000 to 140,000 refugees who come into the country in a year's time, nearly 100,000 of those are Southeast Asians. Approximately fifteen states and forty counties of the United States absorb eighty percent of these refugees. The social, economic and political implications of this trend become self-evident.

Refugees like all of us make choices as to where they are going to live, and the circumstances under which they will live, to the extent that they can control these as other people do. And so, therefore, we now face a very difficult, domestic situation, as increased rates of

unemployment tend to affect adversely the receptivity of local communities to acceptance of increasing numbers of refugees. Now, I qualify that, because it has been very refreshing for me to discover, on the basis of some actual visits to so-called impacted areas, that there is still a great deal of good will and of resourcefulness and creativity on the part of many dedicated people to continue to receive refugees into their communities.

But nevertheless, I think we must be mindful of the problem that, as refugees make choices as to where they will locate, there is obviously going to be the need to address the question of impact --- the social and economic consequences of relocation.

There are several aspects to consider in assessing the impact of resettlement. One is the availability of jobs. We know, for example, that recent refugee flows of Southeast Asians, Cubans, and Haitians show characteristics of refugees that are somewhat unlike earlier refugee groups. At least, we do know that as far as the Southeast Asians and the Cubans are concerned, those who initially came in large numbers probably had certain job skills and resources which permitted them to adapt somewhat more readily, whereas an increasing number of refugees coming now either are of rural background or they have had somewhat less exposure to Western culture with its norms and values. Some do not have literacy in their own language. And so they bring a certain set of problems that need to be addressed in order to help them with a meaningful resettlement. It invariably means that the employment opportunities available to them are essentially of an entry-level nature and of course as the unemployment concerns of many states and localities in the nation increase, there is greater competition for the jobs which are available.

The refugee, therefore, has to endure the additional problem of being in competition with other groups. This can produce a certain amount of tension and a certain amount of hostility toward the refugee community. At least that potential is there. Practitioners in the refugee field as well as researchers should give this area more careful examination.

How do we deal with this problem? We have a principle to be observed - namely that we assure employment opportunities for American citizens but at the same time recognize the other principle, namely a policy of accepting people who come from situations of economic and political persecution.

A related problem deals with the drain on local resources. Schools, hospitals and clinics, to name a few, obviously have to sustain the impact of refugees. This is occurring at a time when the federal resources are not what they once were. There is a greater expectation that state and local government will assume responsibility for refugees through their own resources or at least through an allocation of federal resources, without any strings attached. As you confer discretion upon state and local governments, how does the refugee community compete for those resources? What is the political and the economic leverage of the refugee community as these resources are allocated and indeed is it reasonable to expect that refugees will survive in terms of access, given the competing demands that they make upon those resources? I do not suggest an answer. I simply identify a problem which you may want to consider.

There is another area to consider in assessing the resettlement process, which has to do with ethnic support systems and their impact on refugees. Today, you will have discussion about the mutual assistance associations which are meaningful expressions of refugee self-help efforts.

As a related consideration, the secondary migration of refugees is a problem in this country. As voluntary agencies resettle refugees in particular locations, these newcomers will have the tendency to move into areas where there is a greater degree of ethnic similarity and support. That movement does not necessarily occur into areas where there are jobs and services available. Individuals who move into "impacted" areas in search of the cultural and social support of relatives and friends, face the possibility of a certain amount of community tension, or even hostility at times. Freedom of movement is a privilege and a right which we all enjoy, and it is one which should be equally available to refugees as well. So, how do we deal with this dilemma?

The other fundamental issue that should be examined is, what needs to occur in order to allow us to reconcile the domestic concerns of the nation and the international pressures of the international community which cause people to feel a need to leave their native country and to come to this, and other nations? I think that it is important to point out that the United States accepts more refugees than the rest of the countries of the world combined. So, indeed, we do have a tradition that is reinforced by the experience of receiving large numbers of refugees. However, the number of refugee arrivals has diminished significantly within the past couple of years. Part of that, and only part of it, is a function of the need to reconcile the domestic with the foreign situation. This is indeed a very troublesome issue that the policy makers confront and which people who want to see us keep our doors open must also recognize. As we address this issue, it does become important for foreign policy makers to try to understand what kinds of domestic accommodations have to occur so that we can continue to absorb a significant number of refugees

in a way that does not work to their disadvantage.

In this connection, I had an interesting experience several weeks ago. I was able to visit Hamilton Air Force Base in Los Angeles, which as you know, is a processing center for a large number of Southeast Asian refugees. It is very gratifying to witness the kind of excitement that they had about being in the United States. My first thought was the hope that their excitement and enthusiasm would be maintained once they were resettled into a community. I asked myself, "Will they find themselves with the necessary economic resources?" "Will there be a viable sponsorship for them?" Will they be welcomed into a community?" "Will they be made to feel comfortable?" "Will they be assisted to adapt?"

The degree of optimism was very significant. And of course, you have to realize that some of these people had been in camps for an extended period of time. So there is a fundamental need to recognize the enthusiasm which comes as the refugee enters the country, and to accommodate them in a fashion that does not blunt the momentum.

There is only one other point that I would like to mention and that is the rather significant change represented by virtue of the immigration legislation of 1965, the Refugee Act of 1980, and, of course, the reauthorization of the Refugee Act of 1980. The question, now is, what is the role of government? Immigration has been occurring in this country for many, many years. On the one hand, the role of government was very, very limited, possibly even negligible and in some cases absolutely negative in terms of imposing quotas and making judgments about who should not come, on the basis of reasons that were certainly neither rational nor humane. On the other hand, the government's role has reversed itself. The United States government in 1982 spent in excess of $600 billion dollars on

domestic assistance alone and that simply is not nearly an adequate resource level. Many people feel that it is not all needed.

The question that arises, therefore, is how does public information or official intervention affect the process of receiving and resettling refugees in this country? To what extent should the federal government be in the position of trying to allocate refugees to particular areas of the country where officials think that the circumstances for resettlement are optimal? What are the risks involved if we begin to undertake social engineering, in terms of how, when, and where refugees are resettled? If we do not in some way engage in a rational process of receiving and settling refugees in this country, do we run an even greater risk and that is, the development of public hostility toward the idea of refugee resettlement and thus lose the ability to honor what I think is a fundamental commitment of the nation?

The enthusiasm for accepting refugees such as existed in the late 1970s for Southeast Asians has diminished. But then of course, it is a federal responsibility to provide for the support and maintenance of refugees. Obviously, as federal or public resources diminish, one cannot expect that certain groups of refugees are going to be excluded from that process. This is another issue that needs to be faced and namely, are there more imaginative or more cost-effective ways, whereby local resources can impact upon refugee resettlement and intersect with what public resources are available to assist a greater number of refugees to come here?

These are some of the major issues and the major problems we need to face. I do not think that they are easy problems to resolve. People tend to feel very passionately about the kinds of initiatives that should be

taken for refugees. But indeed I think that within the next year or so, the debate hopefully will be an increasingly instructive one. We will then be able to proceed in a manner that is both rational, humane, and sensitive to the responsibility that we have to help less fortunate people overseas, while at the same time recognizing that all of this has to be carried out within the context of a viable, social and economic system. The issues I have addressed are the kind which all of you assembled here will address. We will benefit very much by the outcome of your discussions.

II. INNOVATIVE RESEARCH AND ACTION

W.A.P.A.'S REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT PROJECT
ORGANIZATIONAL AND RESEARCH MODELS

Beatrice Hackett
District of Columbia Community Humanities Council

David Edwards
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Michigan

A. The Evolution of the Project

In January 1982 the Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists (WAPA) began a service project involving refugee resettlement. WAPA is a professional organization of anthropologists who practice rather than teach their discipline. WAPA had reached a point in its own development when an inward search for identity was over and it was capable of reaching out to the broader community in some way. We had a pool of trained, skilled, and talented people. Many of WAPA's members work in federal positions, while others do so in private consulting jobs. But for most, field work in some exotic place and practice of another language happens less often.

We began to look for a project which would involve members trained in the anthropological method, put them out again into the field, give them a chance to practice language and other skills, and perform a service to the community.

This project, which started originally with one of the voluntary agencies in town that receives and processes incoming refugees, has many facets. In some ways it's like one of those optical illusion drawings of stacked cubes -- looked at one way they appear to go up and to the right, blink your eyes and look another way, and they appear to be going down and to the left. Generally, however, the facets can be grouped into organizational and methodological innovations in research. And certainly organic growth marks the whole project -- and by that I mean that the shape of the project changes with each new fact or relationship we learn.

When the voluntary agency came to WAPA for help, what it really had in mind was individual or group sponsorship of refugee families. After convincing the agency that such sponsorship had to be on an individual basis, we began to explore with them the needs of the agency for specific data anthropologists could supply, at the same time announcing the potential project to the membership and calling for interest. The agency did indeed have a specific resettlement in mind -- resettlement of a Khmer Muslim three-generation family in a rural county in southern Maryland. This was to be the agency's first effort to move some of the Southeast Asian refugees in the saturated Washington area to a rural setting. In the meantime WAPA members began to signal their willingness to help by volunteering for a variety of jobs which they themselves named -- social services (some are counsellors for alcohol or spouse abuse, one is a mediator, two have Laotian and Cambodian language skills), ethnography, and even, as one member put it, "when you write the report, I'll criticize it and ask the hard questions."

The organizational problem was to put all this together. As far as we knew there was no model to follow. The sociologist C. Barnard (1970:84)

says that an organization comes into being when there are persons able to communicate with each other, who are willing to contribute action, to accomplish a common purpose. By that definition we were an organization. Many of us were involved in various bureaucracies and are familiar with that model. Hicks and Gullet (1975) writing from the point of view of administrative theory, say that such theory places heavy emphasis on power and authority. Clear lines of authority and responsibility must be delineated and cooperation and motivation encouraged.

But WAPA is an organization of equals. Colleagues and peers differed for this project and sub-organization only in the time they could give, and their particular interests in any one facet of it. Organization, therefore, could not be along Max Weber's bureaucracy model (1970:7), but had to diffuse authority and responsibility -- to create autonomy and flexibility in order to motivate and accomplish the job. Barnard states that for continued existence of an organization either effectiveness or efficiency is necessary (1970:84).

The organic part of the project arose quite naturally. The voluntary agency had asked WAPA to help it do an ethnography (although in their words they referred to "learning more about the county") of St. Mary's, where they hoped to resettle the refugee family of thirteen.

That first trip to St. Mary's County did more to bring the project into focus than any amount of reading -- especially its organization and view of the research. Six anthropologists trailed along in an enormous caravan which included two members of the family to be resettled, two social workers, one volunteer case worker, and one staff worker, to meet with County social services people and later an Episcopal priest and some parishioners. It was clear from that trip that six anthropologists were

probably that many too many. Can you imagine six anthropologists with note pads, trooping through a County where any outsider is recognized? And from the point of view of this particular Conference, that of training, the questions we formulated that day have some bearing.

Voluntary agencies processing refugees have different goals from those of anthropologists looking at the same situation. They are no less noble, they are only different. Voluntary agencies are interested in placing refugees as quickly as possible, finding them houses and jobs, and helping them get on with their lives. But their legal commitment to the incoming refugees usually ends, as I understand it, after three months. The long-term problems which may emerge after that period is over, then become the problems of differently structured organizations and do not have the equivalent kind of organization with the equivalent kind of resources to help.

The normal social service organizations begin to take up the slack and in the case of rural St. Mary's County, the social service organizations simply had no experience with these problems. We, on the other hand, looking at larger issues, began asking questions like, "If voluntary agency personnel were trained to plan sufficiently ahead, to look for potential problems, at the impact of refugee resettlement on the receiving community as well as on the refugees, could any future problems be avoided?" Our work and the project as a whole, tends to support such an investment in time and money. The payoff is in both human and economic terms.

But the organizational model was continuing to develop. Of the six original members of the rural team, clearly three could not devote the time necessary for frequent trips to the County for the field work. We

issued a sobering report on the implications of placing the unwilling urban Muslim family into a rural setting where hog-raising is an important part of the economy, and isolation a stark danger. The agency accepted the report, digested it, and requested our help in gathering the same kind of information for the District and compiling a resource booklet.

As the project now stands, it is composed of several parts. A rural team of three anthropologists (of which David Edwards and I are two-thirds) has divided the main economic factors of the county -- water-related activities including oystering and crabbing, tobacco and hog farming, and the resident Amish community--among them, and research together and separately. Each is in touch with the others and the informants in the County. Another team, the urban team, is working in the District of Columbia. Needs there are different, and that team's approach and product is different. There is far less need for an ethnography, and more for resource identification and coordination. Theoretical approaches are left entirely to the team. Each operates independently and autonomously. Occasional meetings keep others informed. A third group is registered individually and directly with the voluntary agency for social services on a need basis. They are called upon for language problems, counselling, and other specific requests.

A future project, which we plan in about a year, is to gather papers written by social scientists and others working with refugee problems, and publish a newsletter of abstracts as a means of sharing that information. WAPA hopes to act as a clearinghouse for such information since it does not exist in the form we have in mind.

Only one aspect of the project has not fared so well. We planned to join with the voluntary agency to apply for a grant to bring a project of education to the County -- using a film about refugees and a discussion afterwards on the impact of refugee resettlement on a community. But the agency's board saw such a discussion as risky. It might alarm people in the County. Our differing goals are very apparent here, and should be noted for people interested in training. Now that we have begun working with another agency however, this part of the project may well come about.

The model then, as far as organizational innovation goes, is one of flexibility, organic growth, team autonomy, coordination, and above all, democracy. And this democratic model has produced some most interesting data.

B. Progress Report on Refugee Resettlement in Rural Maryland

The project which we want to discuss today was begun some four months ago and has as its general theme the investigation of resettlement opportunities in rural St. Mary's County, Maryland. The project we have been working on is at an early stage which means that this paper should be viewed as a preliminary progress report. More specifically, it might be termed a discussion of the assumptions, concerns, and research methodology which a group of anthropologists has brought to the practical problems of refugee resettlement.

We should emphasize from the beginning that none of us who have been principally involved in this project have had much prior experience in refugee resettlement. Therefore, one way in which the present project might have value beyond its own confines, is insofar as it elucidates how

outsiders view the problems which some of you deal with on a day-to-day basis. In addition, we hope that our research will focus attention on some of the long-term problems of refugee resettlement which have not been addressed to this point and which affect the ultimate success of resettlement efforts after the transitional period when refugees receive agency assistance.

As Beatrice Hackett has told you, the group undertaking this project has been comprised mainly of professional anthropologists, and it therefore might be useful if we establish what is anthropological about our way of approaching refugee resettlement. This is important since anthropology is associated with a wide range of topics which range from early hominid development, to the behavior of primates, to the food collection techniques of Kalahari bushmen. Beyond the variety of subjects studied by anthrop anthropologists, however, there are certain core ideas and orientations which unify all anthropologists.

One of these is the recognition of the central role which culture has played in the evolution of the species and the concomitant belief that cultural diversity has an inherent value for mankind at large. Applied to our own complex society, the belief in the value of cultural diversity translates into the conviction that our ability to respond and adapt to rapid change will largely be determined by the extent to which we nurture diverse ideas, economic strategies, and social customs. In our anthropological reading of American history, the evidence shows not only that we need the infusion of creativity which refugees supply but also that those groups which have been able to contribute most are the ones which have preserved elements of their traditional culture in their adjustment to an American way of life.

As we have approached our particular project, belief in cultural diversity has meant seeking ways of preserving the inherent strengths and singularities of refugee groups rather than encouraging them to assimilate to some supposed norm of "what an American is" or "how an American family should live." More specifically, we have felt that to maintain the integrity of cultural traditions and social institutions requires above all else the preservation of the family as a functioning social unit. Since the Southeast Asian family unit tends to be an extended, three generational group rather than a nuclear family of a father, mother and children, the goal of maintaining the family as a functional entity has entailed--among other things--finding alternatives to the kind of apartment complexes in which refugees are placed.

It has also meant that we have rejected employment opportunities which would necessitate individuals or couples living by themselves, or with an American family as domestic servants. In rural areas, in particular, isolation has proven to be one of the worst problems encountered by refugees and has even led to instances of suicide. Because of this, we have been specifically looking for resettlement opportunities for families which are sufficiently large to act as independent social units, which is to say, they should have a number of adults who can assume active employment and share domestic responsibilities.

Besides our goal of maintaining the integrity of the family unit, we have also been concerned with other factors influencing the chances of long-term resettlement success. These factors go beyond the immediate problems involved with social services, housing availability, employment, and schooling to the more general and elusive question of whether St. Mary's County would be a suitable location for resettlement. In this

respect, we have set out the following criteria which we think are critical: First, resettlement should not adversely affect--or give the appearance of adversely affecting-- existing housing and employment markets and refugees should not be placed in competition with local residents for limited houses and jobs. A second criterion has been that the resettlement situation should be one in which there is sufficient flexibility for refugees to develop personal strategies for maximizing opportunities according to their own wisdom and resourcefulness. At the same time, this implies that resettlement should not lock a family into a single set of circumstances where there is no room for change or choice. A third criterion is that the resettlement of any one family should be in an area and under circumstances where a community nucleus can be formed over time through the later resettlement of other families. This criterion is based on the assumption that the families that are resettled should decide on their own to move to St. Mary's County and that they should have prior opportunities to inspect where they will be living and to experience the kind of work they would be doing. Familiarity with the resettlement site and with the kind of life which rural resettlement would entail might tend to discourage refugees from an urban background and favor those who have experience with agricultural activities. Finally, a fourth criterion of suitability is the degree of cultural and racial tolerance in the County. Although this is a difficult matter to judge beforehand it influences the manner in which resettlement is approached.

In evaluating the criteria which we have followed in undertaking this project, it might seem that we have set unrealistic goals for ourselves. Since we want to keep family units intact, we must find houses for them. Since we want employment flexibility, we would apparently have to find an

area with little unemployment--particularly since we also want to avoid competition between refugees and the long-established populations. Considering the state of the economy, these objectives at first seemed difficult to attain--if not completely preposterous--and, unfortunately, this impression appeared to be justified after our first meeting with personnel from the social service agencies in St. Mary's County, for they informed us that the local situation fully reflected the national picture of unemployment and recession. Most critical, there was virtually no available housing and there were no plans for future construction.

On the basis of this pessimistic assessment, it seemed logical for us either to reconsider our criteria for resettlement or to give up on the idea of working in St. Mary's County altogether. We decided to continue our research, however, for two basic reasons. First, we felt that if the criteria which we set out were not met, resettlement would be unsuccessful anyway and that it would be better to establish difficult conditions beforehand than to have families go through the traumas of later failure and secondary migration. Secondly, we felt that if the situation in St. Mary's County had difficulties, these would be similar to those in any other rural area in the region.

Furthermore, drawing on our anthropological background, we believed that because of their unique social and cultural traditions, certain refugees might be able to exploit opportunities from which long-established groups have passed over or moved. To explore this possibility, we realized that we would have to dig beneath the impressions of the County that we had received from talking to people in the social service agencies. If opportunities were available, as we believed, we would be unlikely to find out about them from official sources or want ads, since the kind of

opportunities we wanted to find would not have appeared to most residents as opportunities per se. This search has led us from the local chamber of commerce to the manager of a plant for processing eels for export to Japan; from church ministers to a hog farmer whose family has been in the County since it was first settled in 1634. We have also visited a tobacco auction and have chatted with both factory buyers and large and small tobacco growers in order to get some first-hand impressions of the state of the tobacco market, which is the dominant economic force in the County.

From these and other contacts, we have learned more and more about the County, and we have discovered that while the negative assessment of the economic and housing situation in St. Mary's County is generally accurate, there are opportunities available, particularly in tobacco farming. As we had suspected, there are severe labor shortages in this labor-intensive industry, due largely to the fact that a disproportionate number of young people are leaving their family farms after high school graduation, thus leaving their parents unable to cultivate as much tobacco as they could, given an adequate workforce. Tenant sharecropping arrangements have also fallen off for the same reason as many of the children of the poorer classes, who had previously provided seasonal labor, have left for the city.

At the same time, however, tobacco itself has held its own in St. Mary's County, largely because the grade of tobacco grown locally is highly-sought after in Europe and has not been successfully grown elsewhere. In addition, tobacco has a much higher rate of success and, according to County extension agents, almost never fails to produce a good crop, even in bad weather years.

The result of this situation is that we have discovered a number of specific cases where farmers have cut back production--in one instance

from 27 acres to 2 acres--simply for lack of manpower. Some of these farms have second houses on them which are intended for tenant families but which are presently unoccupied.

The very availability of such opportunities in a time of widespread unemployment is cause for caution as well as for optimism. As we continue to investigate the possibility of setting up work arrangements of mutual benefit to farmers and refugees, we are tying to maintain a healthy dose of skepticism and doubt, if only because of our own perceptions-or misperceptions-of tobacco as a bastion of old-fashioned labor-exploitation.

To this point, however, our impression is that work agreements need not be exploitative, if the relationship between farmer and tenant is protected by certain basic safeguards and contractual guarantees. In order to insure this, we are working closely with county officials who are sympathetic to our project and with representatives of the Indochinese Community Center here in Washington, D.C. Between us, we hope to set up contractual arrangements which are mutually beneficial, and, at present, we do not anticipate any difficulty in this regard if only because the economics of the situation encourage cooperation.

Thus, from the point of view of the farmer, if he has been unable to cultivate more than a fraction of his crop during the last few seasons, it is clearly in his interest to arrive at a 50/50 or 60/40 share agreement since a 50 per cent share of 15 acres is far more profitable than a 100 per cent share of 2 acres. From the perspective of the refugee, this type of share arrangement would allow the pursuit of an agricultural way of life with no initial capital costs for land, house, equipment, fertilizer or seed. Most of these agreements set aside a certain amount of land for vegetable farming and for fodder, which would also allow a refugee family

to raise a certain percentage of their own crops and keep their own animals.

To avoid potentially exploitative situations, we will work to insure that the work contracts do not lock any family into a prolonged debt arrangement, which would prevent them from ending their contract at the end of the agricultural cycle.

Despite such precautions, we recognize that difficulties might arise which we have not anticipated. As a result, we are proceeding on this project slowly and will not recommend resettling more than a few refugee families in the beginning. It is the feeling of both county residents and refugees with whom we have talked that if these first test cases prove successful, more will follow as other farmers and other refugee families get word through their respective grapevines. Although this gradual approach blunts the immediate impact of this project, it increases the chances of long-term success by allowing both county residents and refugees to explore the possibility of mutual benefit while also avoiding or at least deflecting the potential for cultural misunderstandings and animosities.

In this respect, an interesting case-in-point is the Amish community in St. Mary's County. Starting with one family that migrated to the County from Pennsylvania during the Second World War, the Amish community has grown to several thousand and is considered one of the more prosperous segments of the population. We have spent some time looking into the Amish successful settlement because it illustrates that a radically different social group can resettle in an area without incurring cultural hostility or exploitation. The reasons which account for their success are several and deserve recounting.

First, when the Amish came into St. Mary's County, they bought up brushland that no one had previously bothered to farm. As a result, no one perceived the Amish as a potential threat or competitor and gradually came to accept their presence. Second, in their desire to maintain their social and cultural integrity, the Amish have developed an independent lifestyle based on their extended family structure and a tradition of pooling resources in times of need. These two factors have allowed the Amish to be economically self-sufficient while their notorious frugality has enabled them to cut out many of the capital costs with which other farmers have had to deal. Finally, in contrast to their conservative appearance, the Amish have been a force of innovation in the County, setting up a saw mill, dairy farms and now tomato production while most other farmers have been unwilling to deviate from the crops which their fathers planted and the techniques which have been used for hundreds of years.

It is our belief that by following a gradual plan of resettlement, Southeast Asian refugees can be as successful in St. Mary's County as the Amish have been. Like them, they have the opportunity to exploit a marginal economic niche that has been overlooked by others in the area. By exploiting a marginal niche, we feel that extended refugee families can fully utilize their labor resources--in a way smaller families are unable to do--and in so doing, provide the economic basis for preserving their cultural traditions and social independence. Finally, we also believe that Southeast Asian refugees can potentially be an innovative force in St. Mary's County, not only by exploiting existing crops like tobacco but also by introducing new crops which have not been sufficiently tested. These include further tomato production, which the Amish have begun

producing for a tomato plant in nearby Virginia, strawberries, and such innovations as Chinese eggplant, lemon grass, and other vegetables and spices used in Asian cuisine, for which there is a potentially lucrative market in Washington and other East Coast cities.

As I mentioned in the introduction, we are still very much in the exploratory stage of this project, and we have yet to prove that resettlement in St. Mary's County can be successfully accomplished. Nevertheless, we are optimistic and feel that our project has some unique attributes. There is a value in having some projects like ours. We are sufficiently removed from the pressure of dealing with the practical problems of having a steady flow of new arrivals and can concentrate on the long-term implications of refugee resettlement. To this point, most practitioners involved with resettlement have devoted their attention to the first few months after refugees have arrived and to the immediate problems of finding housing, sponsors, and English classes. We believe that particularly now, as the volume of new refugees has slackened somewhat, more concern should be paid to what happens after the first three months and to the overall quality of the resettlement experience.

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A RURAL DISTRICT'S INSIGHT INTO REFUGEE LIFE

Naomi West
Refugee Coordinator
Shenandoah District, Virginia

It was Shrove Tuesday. For about thirty hours, working in shifts, the women of the church in that Pennsylvania Dutch Community had been making fastnachts--raised doughnuts for those of you who do not understand the term--and now, for a well earned rest. But at 11 o'clock a telephone call came from Church World Service. The Hildebrandt family will be arriving at 4 a.m. The house had been readied during the past week, beds made, towels hung in place, the pantry full of nonperishables, but now milk, butter, and the last minute items needed to be put in the refrigerator, fresh fruit on the table, and of course, a big plate of freshly fried fastnachts. Since the house they were to occupy was immediately behind ours, each day found me spending much time helping the family become acquainted with their new environment. Only a Junior High daughter could speak any English but we learned to communicate in other ways. A couple of days after their arrival the mother came to my kitchen door. She walked to my table and chairs and began to make motions. Immediately I knew what she wanted--a dust cloth. Yes, there was a mop, a broom and a dust pan but a dust cloth--no one had given it a thought! It was then I began to realize how little I understood even the physical needs of refugees. That congregation sponsored two more families that year and several singles and we learned to profit by former mistakes.

A few years later I had the opportunity, while in Germany, to visit in some of the homes of relatives of refugees we had sponsored. I visited refugee camps in Germany and Austria. I stood in the screening center of West Berlin and saw the escapees as they entered the West Sector from East Berlin and East Germany, 300 to 500 every day. One of the many camps in West Berlin was an old factory; now it housed 3,000 people. It was bleak and stark. A few days later we were in Camp Friedland. This was the official place for persons to enter West Germany from the East. We stood on the bank beside a railroad track with hundreds of others as a train slowly pulled into view and stopped. That day 561 refugees arrived from what is now Poland and they came at the rate of 3,000 a week. The silence was intense as young and old got off the train. Occasionally there would be a cry of joy as someone would recognize a relative or friend. They came with just what they could carry and no money. We were told then that this would probably be known as the Age of the Refugees. Yet on the heels of these people came the Dutch Indonesian and the Hungarians. And today, twenty five years later, there are 12 to 16 million refugees in the world and the end is not in sight.

To my knowledge, there were no resource materials available in those days. The appeal came to the churches that there were people homeless and suffering from the aftermath of World War II. The individual churches responded to the call and assumed the responsibility for providing for the needs of the refugees whatever they might be. Thus began my involvement in refugee resettlement.

In 1975 came the crisis in Southeast Asia when thousands sought refuge. The countries to which these people came in such large numbers were for the most part ill prepared to cope with the influx. There are about 200 Voluntary Agencies working with the U.N. High Commissioner. for Refugees. Church World Service is one of these through which fifteen denominations work, the Church of the Brethren being one of them. In order to be more effective, a refugee coordinator was named for each of the districts of our denomination in the United States. I am presently involved on a volunteer basis in this capacity in the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. For insight and training we were called to the New Windsor Service Center in Maryland. By this time many churches had already become sponsors and the sharing of concerns and problems was a most helpful experience, but more churches needed to become involved. The next year the coordinators met for several days in Ft. Chaffee and learned much about the Cubans who were being held there until they were sponsored. This fall we shall meet again at New Windsor to receive the most recent information, to learn from each other, and to be challenged to fulfill our mission. In addition to these yearly sessions together, we have received an increasing amount of printed matter, as well as audio-visuals which have been invaluable. Just three years ago when many Southeast Asians were coming into the Valley, it was necessary to find a translator to go with us, when, for instance, a refugee needed to go to the Health Department for tests or check-ups. Now the Health Department as well as the refugees find that the Medical Guide and Glossary for the Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians in their own language and in English make the visits less frustrating.

Three years ago there were no records concerning sponsorship in my District but through various contacts, I discovered that out of one hundred and three churches only seven had sponsored a refugee. Mennonites had not begun sponsorship and only a trinkle of other denominations had sponsored a refugee.

Leo Buscaglia says, "The opposite of love is not hate but apathy." [1] This, then, became my first objective- to help people become aware of the conditions under which many other people are living today, - and once they become aware - to respond to the need. How deeply lives can be affected when a refugee comes to live in a community and how rapidly people respond with love and compassion once they try to understand the hurts and sufferings of the refugee!

In order to "sell my wares", I speak to people individually, to pastors, to Witness Commissions, to Church Boards and to the gathered congregation. Sometimes I have a feeling that when people see me coming they say to themselves, "Here comes that refugee woman." Sometimes I take a refugee along with me if I think it would be helpful in a given situation.

Last fall a doctor and a nurse from the Valley served for several months in one of the thirty-three refugee camps in Somalia, Ali Matan, where 19,000 refugees exist. They are in demand to share their story and as they do people begin to ask, "Where are Somalia, Eritrea and Djibouti? They are becoming aware. Feature articles in local newspapers on the arrival of a refugee also helps, if it does not endanger the refugee or his family.

The second thing, when once a congregation has decided to become a sponsor, is to provide a list of names from which a choice can be made. Usually this is done by a refugee committee, and responsibilities are

divided among the members. The sponsoring group takes their task very seriously, trying to help make the adjustment to a new culture as easy as possible. Even though most of the refugees are enrolled in English classes, church members volunteer as tutors in addition. Providing living accommodations, food, and clothing as needed, securing a job, registering the children in school and a host of other things that becomes the responsibility of the committee are extremely important but above all, it is important for the refugee to feel that he has a friend, one in whom he can trust and to whom he or she can go for emotional support. We want to be sure that refugees are not taken advantage of.

In the third place, I try to be supportive of the sponsoring group and the refugee. In order to help the sponsoring groups, two years ago a workshop on Refugee Resettlement was held. It was open to all denominations and interested persons. Participants continued to learn about refugees, past and present, their needs and responses, the involvement of sponsorship, with its pitfalls and joys, and the next steps for the church.

Last fall there was a Consultation for Service Providing Agencies in the area with sponsors of refugees and interested persons. Representatives from ten agencies, such as the Department of Public Health, Social Security, Department of Welfare, Mental Health, and Legal Aid, were asked to share what they could do to assist sponsors and refugees. They were our guests as we later shared a meal prepared and served by a Vietnamese refugee.

As the number of refugees increased, it was felt that we needed to provide some opportunity to bring them together for fellowship and sharing with each other. The first such occasion was a summer picnic planned by Church Women United. At this time the refugees were predominately Vietnamese.

Later a committee was formed to plan for some activity every couple months. The invitations and announcements were always written in their own language and in English. Usually there was an interpreter for each of the major groups: Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian. Sometimes we would have the Coordinator from the Virginia Council of Churches to meet with us to answer questions; sometimes a representative from the Mennonite Central Committee would come. While the questions of the refugees were being answered in the groups, the children would be playing together and the sponsors would be sharing, too. Sometimes the occasion was a carry-in meal and sometimes just refreshments. The Vietnamese planned the Tet celebration.

Working with refugees is not problem free. Learning English as a Second Language has its times of discouragement for refugee and tutor alike. A father, working long or irregular hours finds he cannot attend classes and is often too tired to study with his private tutor. Many mothers are not willing to leave their children with others to attend classes and even when the tutor comes to the home the children are often very visible and concentration is made difficult.

Occasionally a refugee has difficulty in securing a job, adjusting to it or even keeping it. Learning the importance of taking medication regularly as prescribed by a doctor has been a difficulty in some instances. Following more readily the advice of other refugees of the same nationality who have been here a little longer, than the advice of the sponsor, sometimes tends to create a bit of tension.

One of the headaches of the sponsors is when it comes to filling out the forms for the Permanent Resident Alien cards. Last year I waded through the pages of fine print in trying to clarify questions asked, for the eighteen persons of an extended family in our town. Much simpler forms are

used now for which we are grateful. One problem I was never able to solve. I knew from the time the families arrived that Nay and Nga were twins. When I examined their I-94 forms, the birthdate was the same but they were born in different places! When the Immigration and Naturalization Service Office here in Washington is able to function more efficiently I am sure refugees and sponsors alike will rejoice. What a chore it was to go from second floor to sixth floor a couple of times with eighteen applicants and a couple babies in addition. Furthermore, my telephone will not be quite as busy when the green cards can be received within the specified time or when the applicant need not be told "there is no record of the application, start again."

One concern that I can foresee is the lack of understanding in a family between the children and the youth growing up in a culture different from parents or grandparents whose contacts outside the home may be more limited. Sponsors need to be aware of this possibility. But the satisfaction and joy that comes from working with these new found friends transcends any problems that may have arisen during the period of adjustment.

While attending a conference in Seattle a couple of years ago, we met with a couple for dinner. When my husband started to pay the bill, the man said, "No, I pay this. I shall never forget what you and the church did for me as a single young man many years ago when I came to this country alone."

In 1976 teenage brothers, who are Kurds from Iraq and Iran, came to this country. They lived with us for two months. They have worked their way through college and will be graduating this summer. Their letters always express thanks to their friends who helped them, help themselves.

Last fall a telephone call came to my husband and me. "Will you come to York in November? Several families will be celebrating our twenty five years in this country and we want you to share with us."

A 24 year old Vietnamese now living in Los Angeles phoned his 80 year old tutor saying he had just finished his business course and now had a job in the Bank of America General Offices.

A Vietnamese father said in broker English as he and his family were leaving our community, "When I can speak good English, I will come back and tell the church thank you, now you tell them for me."

Saturday evening, an Ethiopian girl who lived in our home on her arrival last fall came by our house bringing a box of candy and a card for Mother's Day.

This is my pride and joy. A year ago Quan wrote saying, "Our baby daughter was born today. If it's all right with you, we would like to name her Naomi S.W. Truong."

What of the future? Somewhere I read that as long as nations continue on their collision course there are bound to be refugees. I cannot work with refugees day by day or year by year without working also to attack the root causes as to why we have refugees. People like you and me become refugees principally because of war or the threat of war. I belong to a denomination that has said from its inception that all war is sin. The tension and strife in the world today has produced most of our refugees--the Southeast Asians, the Afghans, the Ethiopians, the Kurds, the Salvadoreans.

A refugee worker in Africa wrote, "It is the refugee who reveals to us the defective society in which we live. He is a kind of mirror through whose suffering we can see the injustices, the oppression and maltreatment of the powerless by the powerful." [2]

My work of trying to secure sponsors to assist refugees is like putting a bandaid on a sore. Oh yes, the bandaid is important and must be used until healing is affected but I must also be a peace maker in my home and my community. I must let my opinions be known to those in positions of decision making. I want to help in the creation of a climate in which there would be no need for any person to immigrate, in order to find a greater sense of security.

The United States government is accepting up to 140,000 refugees in the Fiscal Year 1982. With high unemployment in our country, with millions of homeless refugees and with people dying from starvation throughout the world, we need to examine our priorities and in the words of another, "We have to live more simply so that others can simply live." [3]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Leo F. Buscaglia. Public Television Videotape, KVIE, Channel 6, P.O. Box 6, Sacramento, California, 95801.

[2] "Refugee Update," Church of the Brethren, Refugee Office, New Windsor Service Center, New Windsor, Maryland, quoted in Refugees, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, July 1980.

[3] Author Unknown.

INVOLVING STUDENTS IN REFUGEE SERVICES

John M. VanDeusen
Resources for Human Development (INC)

Linda H. Gray
Center for Immigration Policy & Refugee Assistance (CIPRA)
Georgetown University

Student Resources

By "student," I mean any individual who is engaged in some kind of formal education or training, either in preparation for a future career or to continue development in the course of a career. This definition encompasses youth and adult learners, American-born and immigrant, at stages of secondary and higher education. The total pool of students in the United States is presently in the vicinity of eight to ten million, or nearly one person in twenty -- a substantial resource.

"Experiential learning" is a relatively new, scientific term for what is an old tradition in many disciplines, of "hands on" experience as a component in one's education. It is familiar to those working in human service professions, typically in the form of temporary placement in community-based agencies for periods extending from several weeks to several years. Schools of social work and education refer to it as the "field placement;" departments of psychology and medicine, as the "internship." In all of these disciplines, service is understood to provide an opportunity for apprenticeship in the actual practice of teaching, counseling, or healing arts.

Experiential learning is also familiar to the human sciences. In anthropology, for instance, "fieldwork" is regarded as a final step in the training of the graduate student. Lesser doses of the same kind of experience may have been administered earlier in training, through seminars and practica concerned with research methods and site/area

studies. While the human service intern is closely supervised during apprenticeship, the novice researcher is often left to his/her own devices while in the field.

Internships, tutorials, and other short-term field experiences are often required of students in other disciplines: public and business administration, law, etc. Again, apprenticeship is the primary intent, typically under the supervision of a senior administrator or practitioner in a local agency. For instance, administrative interns working in a private, for-profit setting may be involved in marketing, production, management, or other aspects of the business.

In addition to the various kinds of field-service undertaken specifically to fulfill requirements toward a degree, large numbers of students engage regularly in service for other reasons, including: continuing education to fulfill licensing requirements, work-study programs, electives for individual courses, and extra-curricular activities.

These resources offered directly by students are complemented by organizational bases within institutions of higher education: volunteer programs, international programs, student associations, and other campus agencies. Institutions routinely provide direct and indirect support and coordination for student service through these organizational resources.

Refugee resettlement is an international operation acting to relieve human crisis through short- and long-term services to individuals, families, and whole populations. Domestic and international efforts in this field have increased sharply over the past decade. There are clearly opportunities to tap any or all of the student resources that have been listed above. In other words, there is a potential role in refugee resettlement for all of the disciplines that have traditionally incorporated

experiential learning in their curriculum. Due to the cross-cultural aspect in most refugee-related work there are also possibilities for innovative field experiences. A brief listing includes: basic education language training, vocational rehabilitation, counseling and guidance, program development, and evaluation. Despite this broad array of opportunities, students -- whatever their level and discipline -- have been only marginally involved in refugee resettlement to date. I will attempt to shed some light on the reasons for this and suggest some correctives, later in the paper. Before doing this, I will give an overview of several student programs that have been successfully developed and thus lend support to the argument that students can be productively involved in refugee services.

Some Models of Student Involvement

The models to be described here have been implemented by the Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance (CIPRA), at Georgetown University. There may be similar programs at other institutions of higher education, but few have been publicized; nor am I aware of any current effort to centralize information regarding such activities.

CIPRA is the brainchild of Donald G. Herzberg, late vice president for graduate studies at Georgetown University. The Center was originally intended to be an academic center for the study of immigration policy from an international, legislative perspective. Meetings and lectures have been offered to present and discuss relevant issues in domestic and international policies and programs. In 1979, the Center's mission was broadened to include the training of personnel for assistance to migrating people; this expansion brought several student intern programs previously administered by the University's Office of International Programs under CIPRA's wing.

Georgetown students were first involved in refugee assistance in 1975, during the Indochinese evacuation. A federally funded hotline for academic information was operated to facilitate access to higher education opportunities. Information was provided on fields of study, sources of financial assistance, and the admissions process. Recent refugees enrolled at Georgetown acted as interpreters, manning the hotline.

At the suggestion of Mr. Pho Ba Long, a Vietnamese refugee who is himself a former university educator and currently active in refugee affairs, Georgetown began to assess the feasibility of more intensive student involvement in 1979. After meeting initial disinterest from a number of voluntary agencies, Father Harold Bradley, CIPRA'S director, found the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM, now ICM) very receptive to the idea of an internship arrangement for students. A first program was implemented in the fall of 1979 with the assignment of six student interns to six-month internships in ICM offices, primarily in the Southeast Asian area.

The primary object of the internship, from the University's perspective is one of experiential learning; to quote Father Bradley:

> Georgetown's interest is not in training experts to deal with refugee issues, but to begin to teach a cross-section of students to understand the humanitarian and political dimensions of events taking place in Southeast Asia. (Quoted in Minogue 1980:20)

ICM, meanwhile, received the valuable resource of voluntary staffing in the processing and movement of refugees. The interns were assigned the title of "Assistant Operations Officer," and acquired one semester of academic credit through completion of a two-week orientation course and several tutorials while in the field.

This program is open to applicants from any field of study and has, in fact, taken in a cross-section of graduate and undergraduate students at Georgetown University. The steep competition among applicants is hand-led via a thorough screening process, reviewing each applicant's academic record, interests, and level of maturity. The review committee seeks to give priority to those students evincing requisite maturity, for whom the internship will fit in best with personal and career objectives. Over seventy students have served to date in ICM offices in Hong Kong, Singapore, Indonesia, Bangkok, the Philippines, Malaysia, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., New York, and Geneva, Switzerland.

A second GU-ICM program was operative in the United States at the time of the Cuban boat lift to Miami. Five students volunteered during the summer of 1980 to process Cuban refugees for resettlement around the U.S. They were sent to refugee holding centers at Fort Eglin, Florida; Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania; Fort Chaffee, Arkansas; and Fort McCory, Wisconsin.

The International Catholic Migration Commission sponsored another type program for a short time in 1980. Two graduate students specializing in Teaching English as a Second Language (TEFL) were placed in a newly opened Refugee Processing Center in the Philippines. The students received one semester of academic credit in their major (MAT) for their part in assisting in the development of language teaching curriculum and actual provision of instruction to refugees preparing to resettle in the U.S.

Several overseas programs have been developed in conjunction with Catholic Relief Services (CRS). These programs recruit medical and social service students for short-term work in the refugee camps in Southeast Asia. The longest running, initiated in the spring of 1980, sent fourth-year medical students to Thailand in six-week rotations. Eighty-five students from a consortium of participating medical schools have served Georgetown, State University of New York at Buffalo, Creighton, St. Louis, and University of Minnesota. Each rotation of six interns is supervised in the field by a faculty member and resident from one of the cooperating Schools.

A second program was initiated with CRS in the fall of 1980, placing undergraduate social work students from Georgetown University in six-month internships in Southeast Asia. The interns teach cultural orientation to children in the camps, who have been approved for resettlement in the United States. Six students have served to date.

A program for dental students was initiated in August, 1981. Twelve students from Georgetown and Creighton Dental Schools have served in six-week rotations. The role in the field is primarily one of instructing refugee dentists and dental assistants in the camps; dental care education and direct treatment are also provided.

Most recently, a program has been implemented with nurses. This is administered through the Continuing Education Division of Georgetown's School of Nursing. Nurses are recruited for advanced training in disaster medicine and community health. Teams are sent to the refugee camps for six-month internships following a one-month orientation course at the University. One faculty member accompanies each team of five to six nurses into the field.

Nearly two-hundred students have participated in the various overseas programs being coordinated with ICM and Catholic Relief Services. CIPRA has not neglected the domestic aspect of resettlement, either; approximately one-hundred students have participated as volunteers in a program being conducted within the District of Columbia. The program, Abraham Welcome House, is a temporary shelter for refugees upon arrival in the United States. This "hostel" concept, which has not been widely used in U.S. resettlement, derives from two related ideas: first, intensive, "front-loaded" services to accelerate the acculturation process and, second, "clustering" of several families from related cultures to begin reintegrating systems of social support.

The Abraham Welcome House is operated as an independent, nonprofit venture, organized by an interfaith coalition in Washington, D.C., in early 1980. Up to fifteen persons, or four families, can be accommodated at one time. Three senior staff positions (two are live-in) are filled by volunteers who receive stipends for a one-year term of service. These positions have been filled primarily by Georgetown students. In addition, up to twenty-five students are recruited each semester through the Volunteer Programs Office at Georgetown University, as tutors for the House. A cross-section of the graduate and undergraduate population have participated, each working a minimum of two hours per week in English language instruction cultural orientation, field trips, and related activities. Although no academic credit is offered by the program, some students have made arrangements to receive individual credit, e.g., through a Theology Department elective, "Toward a Theology of Social Action."

Orientation courses constitute an essential component of the CIPRA student programs. These range from two-day preparations for the shortest

rotations, for medical and dental personnel, to one-month courses for the nurses. A portion of each orientation is geared toward topics which are a special concern of the discipline involved, e.g., tropical medicine, malnutrition, etc. Another, generic segment covers various aspects of refugee affairs: area/culture history, politics, and processing. Problems and strategies in communicating interculturally are also covered. Faculty for the orientations include Georgetown University personnel and outside experts, e.g., from Immigration and Naturalization Service, State Department, Public Health Service, and various voluntary agencies. Students who have arranged to receive additional academic credits also work with faculty during the internship, either via direct supervision in the field or periodic correspondence.

While CIPRA has not conducted any formal assessments of the internship programs, all students who have participated indicate that the experience has had a deep effect upon personal and professional understanding. Between 1979 and 1981, for example, over three-fourths of the students who went through the overseas six-month internship continued their involvement in some form of refugee work after graduation. ICM's continued support for the internships is another indicator of success. ICM, in fact, reports that the CIPRA's students' preparation (in the orientation courses) provides a better sense of the overall picture of refugee affairs than that seen in most persons recruited for career service.

The Abraham Welcome House has to date served 29 families (containing a total of 117 persons), including seven Cambodian, ten Laotian, eleven Vietnamese, and one Ethiopian. After a stay averaging eight to twelve weeks, these families have been transferred to individual sponsors in the

community, including fourteen American families, two relative families, and seven out-of-state contacts. An informal follow-up survey has shown that over seventy-percent of former residents are engaged in full-time employment (40%), vocational training (25%), or higher education (5%). These outcomes compare favorably with general trends in domestic resettlement. Because of the high level of involvement of students in a volunteer capacity, the programs' cost-benefit ratios can also be regarded as favorable.

Discussion: Needs and Prospects

Despite a spectrum of opportunities, the overall number of students who have been involved in refugee services in the United States and abroad, has been marginal. The low levels of involvement stem in part from a failure by service agencies to appreciate the value of student participation, and in part from a failure to advertise relevant opportunities to students and institutions of higher education. There has been a tendency to view the relative inexperience and relatively short duration of availability of most students, as barriers to effective service delivery. The first-line resource in domestic programs has thus been the earlier-wave refugee who has attained a basic command of the English language and American culture, and who is willing to accept entry-level employment for an indefinite term. Ironically, many of these refugee workers are seriously interested in improving their own career tracks through further education, i.e., they would also be students if they could.

The CIPRA programs demonstrate that language and cultural gaps can be bridged by a modest investment of orientation training, assignment to carefully defined roles in the field, and appropriate supervision from

experienced personnel at regular intervals. The brevity of individual students' term of service can be offset by the sheer numbers available for work, provided the logistics of recruitment and rotation are handled well.

A growing number of students are entering the refugee field without the benefit of a coordinating/sponsoring mechanism along the lines of CIPRA. These students typically become engaged in projects on their own initiative, e.g., using a refugee need/problem as an innovative focus for research or service required for a degree. As their numbers increase, these students are beginning to seek out one another at meetings and conferences. In anthropology, for example, several sessions have been organized at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association and Society for Applied Anthropology in recent years. Institutional support for activities of this kind has been minimal, however.

In a time when fiscal subsidy of both education and human services is diminishing, increased competition for remaining funds may, of itself, spark greater collaboration between students and refugee programs. It would be most helpful if these interests could be channeled toward least developed facets of refugee services (and human services, generally): research, evaluation, training, and administration. There are many opportunities for pure and applied behavioral research, e.g., tracing patterns of benign vs. problematic adjustment to American life; exploring cultural and geographic factors' effects upon adaptation; and designing and testing novel approaches to service delivery. The greatest needs in research are for relevant, feasible designs and legwork to collect data. Exemplary fieldwork with refugees has been conducted in the Washington, D.C. area, as reported by David Haines, Dorothy Rutherford, and Patrick Thomas (1981) in a recent article in Anthropological Quarterly. Another useful reference is

a volume of proceedings just published by the University of Minnesota (Downing and Olney, eds. 1982), from a national Hmong research conference held in the fall of 1981. Approximately twenty papers treating social, cultural, linguistic, and health related topics, are included.

Students in professional schools could also contribute directly to the training of personnel already engaged in refugee services, particularly refugee paraprofessionals. The model illustrated in the CIPRA dental internship program could be readily adapted for introductory - level courses in other disciplines. Institutions of higher education could lend support to this type of program by granting course credits to both the student-instructor and refugee-learner. I have personally found that the provision of formal recognition of learning, e.g., in the form of continuing education certificates, is a tremendous incentive to refugee workers' participation.

Students in business and public administration, political science, foreign service, and law have, to date, been least often involved in refugee services. This is unfortunate, since their expertise could have a substantial impact upon the conduct of resettlement operations. Public and private agencies currently participating in resettlement are clearly swamped beyond capacity with work. After seven years, many have become entrenched in a reactive, crisis mode of operation: staff would often like to attend to more systematic planning and evaluation, but simply do not have the luxury of time or support to engage in such tasks. To draw just one example of where graduate-level student assistance might ease pressures in this regard, it may be noted that the primary goal of domestic resettlement in the U.S. is economic self-sufficiency for the

refugee. This is presently pursued chiefly through the channel of vocational training and placement of the individual wage-earner. Yet, a number of refugees are already skilled in trades and crafts, such as textile production, and really suffer from a lack of marketing experience. Others have acquired substantial experience in entrepreneurial roles in the homeland, e.g., in street-side businesses, but find it difficult to effectively tap this expertise in current circumstances. Such problems are the "bread and butter" of private enterprise, and thus offer useful challenges to the MBA candidate.

Given support in accessing relevant opportunities for service, students have an ongoing need for guidance, beginning with a careful orientation to the nature of the service and the context in which it will be performed. From the experience of the CIPRA programs, it is possible to identify several training needs that are generic to involvement in refugee services. The first is intercultural communication: students are not able to attain the kind of maturity needed to work with individuals from another culture without some basic grounding in the theory and practice of interaction across cultures. This entails a structured exposure to basic contrasts in systems of values and manners. Once a student is aware of these differences, he/she may still require a knowledge of the recent experience of the people, leading to their status as refugees. This awareness helps to cultivate an appreciation of the meaning and importance of the refugee's present condition and ambitions.

Once he/she is able to communicate across cultures, the student will find it much easier to apply skills generic to his/her discipline, e.g., problem-intervention or management. The basic task is to engage the refugee in a process that he/she comprehends, appreciates (values), and is

comfortable with. The student's own demonstration of enthusiasm (and altruism) may go far in securing trust and cooperation. On the other hand, the student must also learn to see him/herself as the refugee does; to tolerate the probable stereotyping and suspicion of motives; and retain focus on what can be concretely accomplished with the present client at the present time.

Students who are engaged in research studies involving refugees need additional orientation to the special problems which surface when scientific inquiry is implemented with human subjects in a cross-cultural setting. Difficulties are presented in a number of areas: the assessment of validity and reliability of methods and measures to be used; the issue of what constitutes representative sampling, and the extent of generalizability of findings; and problems of confidentiality and the ethics of procedures and post-research publication. Anthropologists have become alerted to these problems through both peer and public criticism of studies involving other minority populations in the U.S. and overseas. These lessons could and should be applied in preparing students for involvement in refugee research.

While empirical data are lacking, supervision in the field and debriefing upon return from the field may be as crucial to the success of student involvement, as is careful orientation before entering the field. The exercise of reflecting upon this experience, reviewing successes and failures in the context of one's own development, would appear to be essential to the prevention of drift and burnout. The student's impressions may also be compared with those of agency staff/supervisors, and those of refugees served, to obtain a more objective assessment of useful roles for student involvement.

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COMMENTATOR

George H. Weber
The Catholic University of America

I am pleased to serve as the Commentator on an especially important topic, Innovative Research and Action which has been served especially well by several distinguished panelists. In order of their presentations they are: Mrs. Beatrice Hackett, Mr. David Edwards, Mrs. Naomi West, Dr. John VanDeusen.

Dr. Pellegrino, Mr. Parkins and Dr. Laporte provided the welcome remarks for the Conference and set the challenge for our time together. They stressed the imperative to understand the immigrants and refugees, to respond to their needs, to learn from them as well as to teach them and to assist them. In addition, Dr. Laporte reminded us that immigrants and refugees have many contributions to make to our society and to us as individuals. He also suggested that many immigrants and refugees could be role models for many of us. I think that is very important.

Mr. Parkins' welcoming remarks raised the question: "What should be the role of the federal government on immigration and resettlement issues?" He noted the matter was anything but clear. In regard to resettlement he noted the importance of man/woman job training, employment, and relating the immigrants to their new communities. Employment for immigrants was seen as key to their sense of well-being; however, Mr. Parkins observed problems in this area: lack of employment opportunities and keen competition for the available jobs between immigrants and longer-term residents.

Mrs. Hackett and Mr. Edwards described the resettlement work of the Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists (WAPA) in a rural

resettlement project in southern Maryland. Mrs. Hackett's presentation concentrated in the organizational (agency) framework for the project and the conceptual underpinning of the project. It was the background of actual project operations, and reflected the skillful and creative use of social science concepts in tackling a knotty problem. Mr. Edwards' contribution followed, and was neatly linked to Mrs. Hackett's over-arching perspective. Among the many points of note was his experience that the community, to which the immigrants migrate, must be worked-with continually to effect the best circumstances for the immigrants. This was the case for various segments of the community, including social services, which was strained by the money needs of the new arrivals. These two presentations exemplified an intricate relationship between conceptual/theoretical formulations and humanitarian practice -- the use of social science in behalf of mankind.

Mrs. West shared her experiences and perspectives as a life-long volunteer in behalf of immigrants. We all were moved by the dedication and consistency expressed over a period of many years by her and her church. Further, their basic respect, empathy and sense of good will for immigrants were clearly apparent. Moreover, Mrs. West's appreciation of the immigrants' contribution and enrichment to our communities was outstanding.

Dr. VanDeusen told us about the work of college students in behalf of refugees. He spoke about that effort as benefiting both refugees and students. The refugees learned the English language and the American customs and traditions, and gained in their resettlement. The students furthered their compassion and skills in helping persons in need.

These several presentations were first-rate, substantively and inspirationally. Moreover, they stimulated me to think more broadly about immigrants and refugees, for example: What cultural traditions, customs and

beliefs do immigrants and refugees bring to this culture? What cultural traditions, customs and beliefs do they encounter in this culture? What are the points of match and mis-match between the two cultures? What components of the new culture...must the immigrants and refugees master? ...must the immigrants and refugees have a journeyman's knowledge about and skills for? ...must the immigrant and refugee have an apprentice's knowledge about and skills for? ...must the immigrant and refugee be generally aware of? What are the most effective and humanitarian ways of assisting the immigrants and refugees to relate happily and productively to their new culture? Which feelings--anxiety, fear, disappointment, discouragement, depression--are most likely to be evoked by difficulties in coping with the new culture? Which policies, procedures, and techniques are most effective in relation to these problems?

Answers to some of these questions have already been given, especially by practitioners who work with immigrants and refugees daily. Indeed, that is what we have had an opportunity to learn about this morning. Some of the answers have been reported in the literature, others remain unreported and in the experience of practitioners. Some remain to be discovered by research.

III. SELF-HELP IN CHANGING COMMUNITIES

CHANGING ASPECTS OF THE CAMBODIAN MUTUAL ASSISTANCE ASSOCIATIONS PROJECT

Sem Yang
Director
Cambodian Mutual Assistance Associations Project
Long Beach, California

Before I talk on the Cambodian Association of America, I would like to speak briefly on the events in Cambodia during the past decade. Until 1970, Cambodia was a kingdom and Prince Norodom Sihanouk was the Chief of State. In March 1970, Prince Sihanouk was deposed by a coup d'état and Marshal Lon Nol became the Head of State. The name of the country changed from the Cambodian Kingdom to the Khmer Republic. From 1970 to 1975, Cambodia was at war with the Communist Khmer Rouge who were backed by North Vietnam, Red China, and Russia, and on April 17, 1965 the Communist Khmer Rouge took control and changed the name of the country to Kampuchea.

From 1975 to 1978 the Cambodian people lived under the reign of terror of the Khmer Rouge leader, Pol Pot. Three million people, including clergy, men and women, young and old, died from torture, mass execution, starvation. sickness and disease. For a country of seven million in 1970 that is almost half of the population. Everyone who survived at least lost one or more immediate members in the family, husband, wife, son, daughter, mother or father. Seventy five per cent of the victims were men, 50 per cent children, and 25 per cent were women.

On January 1979, Communist Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia, took over control and installed a puppet government headed by Heng Samrin. In early summer 1979 the Cambodian people faced another great danger of famine.

About six hundred thousand poured over the Thai-Cambodian border in search of food, and thousands died of starvation. International humanitarian organizations sent food, medicine, medical supplies, and medical teams to save human lives. Yet, in 1979, 40,000 Cambodian refugees were loaded in buses by the Thai government and pushed back across the border, into a mine field. As a result, twenty thousand lost their lives.

It is against this background that I would like to talk about the changing aspects of the Cambodian Association of America. In the late 1950s, a few Cambodian students were sent to the United States of America to continue their education. In 1963 there were approximately two hundred Cambodians in the United States. Of these, one hundred and fifty were students, and another fifty were working at the Cambodian Embassy, the Voice of America, and The Foreign Language Institute. This core group formed an association which became known as the Cambodian Student Association of America. I was one of the early members. Membership included, also, two dozen Cambodian students who resided in Canada.

Until 1967, the goal of the Association was fraternal, cultural and educational. We tried to show our culture and arts to Americans and we were collecting material that we would need when we returned home.

In late 1967, some of us were accused by the government of Cambodia of being American agents planning to overthrow Prince Norodom Sihanouk. As a result, these two dozen Cambodians were afraid to go back home and were allowed to remain in the United States as political exiles. From that time the Cambodian Students Association became involved in Cambodian politics. There were no social services needed among Cambodian students then, but in 1975 when the refugees came, the Association saw that there was a need for those who had been here longer to become involved in social

services to help arrivals. The first year, all our efforts were put into providing orientation, food, clothes, assistance with finding housing, medical services, translators, schools, transportation and counseling (we had no time for politics). Also in 1975 in order to encourage the refugees to become involved and become members of the Association we changed the Cambodian Students Association to the Cambodian Association of America (CAA) and became a non-profit corporation. The organization has a board of seven directors, and a president. We have former student members and new arrivals on the board. Many of the new arrivals at that time were professionals and educated people. Some were educated in Europe, Australia, and Asia, in addition to Cambodia.

In 1975 when many confirmed reports about killings and tortures in Cambodia became known, the Cambodian people here and the members of the CAA were very much concerned about their families, and people back home. They all voted to do something to stop the killing in Cambodia. I personally do not know if efforts to stop the killing in Cambodia are considered as politics or not. The Cambodian Association of America then started to organize. It was agreed that we had to do two things: to provide social services, and to organize to stop the killings.

In 1976 we met in Des Moines, Iowa, with Cambodian representatives from many states. They all wanted to form an association and asked to use the Cambodian Association of America Corporation. In 1976 we started with about twenty-three associations throughout the country. In order to be a strong organization we had to do both: our community wanted to help stop the killings and now they want to help free Cambodia from the Vietnamese Communists. We needed to work with the young and the old. And we needed to put the past aside. We worked closely with all Cambodian

prominent leaders. This included the former president Long Nol and Prince Norodom Sihanouk but not the Khmer Rouge leaders.

In terms of social services we give help among ourselves, provide communication, coordination within the state of California and out of state, and the raising of funds to finance the work. On October 1980, we received an 18 months award from the Office of Refugee Resettlement, United States Department of Health and Human Services.

In terms of politics we have organized internationally and nationally to publicize the needs of the 200,000 Cambodians, living along the Thai-Cambodian border for food and medicine. We also would like to see Cambodia become independent, neutral and peaceful.

THE CAMBODIAN CLUSTER PROJECT

Cynthia Coleman
Indochina Refugee Action Center

About a year and a half ago, the Department of State announced that over the next year 20,000 Cambodian refugees would be admitted into the United States. This was a significant shift in U.S. refugee policy, because between 1975 and 1980 only a total of 20,000 Cambodians had been admitted as refugees. The federal government was, in fact, doubling the Cambodian population in this country in one year.

The new policy had another implication as well. Almost one half of the Cambodians already in the U.S. lived in Southern California, between Los Angeles and San Diego, with approximately 7,000 Cambodians settled in Long Beach. The city was heavily impacted by refugees. This had happened partly because the traditional method of resettlement by the voluntary agencies had called for resettling friends and relatives - no matter how distant the relationship - with those already here. It had happened also because refugees who were in isolated areas of the country, away from others of their own ethnic group, had secondarily migrated to Long Beach in order to regain a sense of community and a sense of security.

Clearly, resettlement agencies could not continue to place large numbers of people into Long Beach -- or even into Southern California -- where jobs were scarce, housing was even more difficult to find, and community tensions had become a serious problem for refugees. In addition, explorations took place for alternative ways of resettling large numbers of people. The Cambodian Association of America, which turned its attention to

the concerns of resettlement is an innovative model. The assumption began with the premise that certain areas of the country were already heavily impacted with refugees and should therefore be avoided. It also emphasized that refugees resettle best when assisted by their own communities.

The Association wrote a proposal for federal funding to help to aid in resettling 10,000 of the new arrivals in non-impacted areas of the country. The communities had to have enough jobs available, a welcoming atmosphere, and, the Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association (MAA) to help them. The basic idea was to resettle a significant number of Cambodian refugees--from 300 up to 1,000--in 12 cities which fit these criteria.

This inclusion of MAAs in the resettlement process is a fairly recent phenomenon, and there is still much debate about whether the Associations are needed at all for these functions. My position is that they are absolutely vital - for several reasons. There are the obvious reasons like a sharing of language and culture, and of past experience as refugees themselves. There is also another equally important rationale, which the federal government has recently begun to recognize. In the next two or three years, at the most, the voluntary agencies (Volags) will move on to work with refugees from other areas of the world - Africans, Poles, maybe Salvadoreans or Guatemalans. The Southeast Asian MAAs are the resources which will remain in the communities, with the refugees and their problems. These organizations need experience <u>now</u> in service delivery, before the financial support from outside institutions runs out. This experience will enable them to maintain an ongoing, permanent level of self-sufficiency.

There is another reason which many of us overlook. Volags and the MAAs have had to learn to work together. These processes of sharing and negotiation have resulted in successful cases of resettlement.

For example, a substitute project was developed through which the Mutual Assistance Associations became the alternative resettlement group. This project was known as the Cambodian Cluster Project. The Organization worked, in many cases, with the Volags. Indeed, when this pattern of collaboration took place, resettlement went well. The Cluster Project, which has now ended, gave us experience on a national basis with several areas:

- Advance planning, with providers likely to be affected by a large influx of refugees, such as state and local governments, health departments, schools, and community service agencies.
- A new collaborative resettlement model which showed that when MAAs and Volags worked together, better resettlement was accomplished.
- The adaptation of Cambodian MAAs as institutions to deliver services to their own people. In some places, the MAAs received state or foundation funding to accomplish this goal. In other places the Cambodian community paid to continue the services.

The Indochina Refugee Action Center (IRAC) has recently completed a study of the refugees who went to the 12 Cambodian cluster sites, in terms of secondary migration and the financial status of the refugees. Findings show that, for the most part, secondary migration has been low. It varied from site to site, but the overall rate is 11.7 per cent. When that is adjusted by the number of Cambodians known to have moved into a cluster site, you achieve a rate of 9.2 per cent. And of those who left, fully 23 per cent were reunification cases and clustering people who had no familial ties or who had only distant relatives or friends already here.

Preliminary indications on employment figures show that 47 per cent were fully employed and financially independent and another 9 per cent were supported by private sponsors and not receiving welfare. The majority of those studied had arrived within the previous six months. These employment figures are substantially above the national average.

In summary, we need to design alternative programs that handle the problems we all face. We need more and better planning and coordination and we must include the MAAs in that process.

LEADERSHIP NETWORKS IN THE CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY AS A MODEL OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE EFFORTS

Marcos Mason
The Urban League of New York

In working with a project on undocumented immigrants in New York City, sponsored by the Urban League, we had focused on Black immigrants in the city, basically Caribbean immigrants, in attempts to determine the impact that undocumented immigration had on New York City. To carry out this objective, it was necessary to make some breakthroughs into the Caribbean immigrant community in order to gain access among the so-called undocumented immigrants. In that process the key factor was to establish relations with the Caribbean leadership through their various associations. We tried to identify Caribbean organizations, and their leaders. We found that there were many and that there was no centralization. There was no directory and they were not registered. The associations were basically a group of informal organizations. So we began to compile a directory of Caribbean associations in New York City and in so doing we were able to identify various types and leaders in these communities.

I would like to describe some of the mutual support functions of these organizations. First, an overview in terms of the types. We have identified some 250 diverse Caribbean associations in New York City. They range from social and fraternal organizations to benevolent societies, and occupational groups. For example, from Barbados there is a Super Star Critic Club. There is Alexandra, a woman's alumnae association linked to a school back in Barbados. There is a Barbados Nurses' Association. The Barbados Policeman's

Association is composed of policemen who migrate to New York, and there is the St. Michael's girl's association, made up of women from St. Michael in New York. All of these organizations are based in town. Some are linked to church groups.

The organizations have no connections across nationality groups. Members of a Jamaican group, for example, are aware of other Jamaican associations but they have no ongoing communication with organizations which draw together immigrants from Trinidad, Barbados, or Guyana.

It is of interest to look at the way some of these groups function in the city and the leadership role that they play, not only in New York City but in their host country. For example, the Jamaican Progressive League, which is one of the major, older West Indian organizations, played a key role in Michael Manley's re-election. It was able to raise funds in New York, and supported his campaign effort at home, in Jamaica. We see similarities with other organizations and other elections. A large margin of the vote for some of these countries comes from New York and we've seen that these organizations are having increased significance in terms not only of local politics but also in international politics, particularly now, with the notion of the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

As another example, the recent Panama Canal treaty was shaped by organizations in this country. The Panamanian Organization in New York played a key lobby role in the United States in terms of the achievement of Panama's interests. Furthermore, Panama is now considering establishing the Panamanian community as a district of Panama City and, at the next election, computerized voting booths will be installed. As a result, contenders that are running for political office in Panama are campaigning heavily in New York City. These leadership groups are emerging as a key

force in the Caribbean community in the United States.

The Caribbean communities have become visible in other ways. There is a Labor Day parade in which every group has a float and a display of special cuisine. The parade and other such events bring all the diverse groups together. Outside of these events, every association functions as an autonomous group which deals with the particulars of its members.

In terms of looking at the formation of these associations, we have found that a good number of groups grow within the context of intergroup relations. The associations usually begin around the core of the established Black community which plays host to the new immigrant community. As the groups grow, the Caribbean community moves away from the indigenous Black community and thereby forms a community to itself. In one apartment building, an organization can have five Haitian families, three Jamaican families, four Barbadian families and the like. However, solidarity among the national associations to which these families belong has not yet developed. For example, at a demonstration against the repression of Haitian refugees, one will notice Haitian groups, but not the full solidarity of all the Caribbean community associations.

The Caribbean community in Brooklyn is now receiving new significance, not only in terms of international politics, but also in relation to local politics in New York City. The last census reports indicate that the East Flat Bush area is the largest Black area in New York City. Based on these figures, with the new redistricting and reapportionment plans, two Congressional districts should be carved out of the area. Caribbean groups are now moving and beginning to involve themselves in local politics. They are facing, however, some serious difficulties. On the one hand, some have the impression that large segments of the Caribbean immigrant groups

do not vote. The undocumented population is composed of legal residents who are not citizens. Therefore, they cannot vote. Among those who are citizens, such as those in "little Jamaica," and in "little Panama," many have been more heavily involved in overseas politics. So, both the overseas and the local political affairs now have a new significance. Reapportionment and redistricting in the area will most likely result in a surge of political activism.

The Caribbean community is thus composed of some 250 associations which are strong as individual groups but weak as a regional Caribbean organism. Because of that, I have been doing some work with the framework of the Caribbean Medical and Educational Foundation and the Overseas Panamanian Association. In terms of contrasts between both organizations, the organizing approach has been based on networking among the leadership.

The Overseas Panamanian Association, was formed early this year, when it emerged out of long years of struggle within the Panamanian community to have an active group that would represent the interests of Panamanians both in New York City and in Panama. This Overseas Panamanian Association succeeds a previous group that was called the National Conference of Panamanians. The new group has been able to get the Panamanian government to establish a bank in New York City which facilitates transfer of funds, and it plays a broker's role in terms of dealing with the government and in terms of deployment of capital from the Panamanian community in the United States to Panama. It will continue to play an organizing role in the Panamanian community in New York City. Its membership, therefore, is based on the selection of those who are considered leaders in the Panamanian community and its scope is broad-based because of its goals in playing a role both in the United States and in Panama.

In contrast, the Caribbean Medical and Educational Research Foundation is a mixed group which attempts to bring various professional forces together. However, it is much more than a professional group. It was formed by physicians, allied health practitioners, professors, researchers, and others, and the present objective is to establish a medical research center in Barbados to serve the Caribbean area. This center is to be under the auspices of Rockefeller University and a lot of groundwork has been made in terms of progress of this group. The group was able to get a resolution passed by the Health Ministers of the seventeen participating countries in the Caribbean area, and the University of the West Indies to sponsor setting up this institution. Consequently, the group does not get involved in national politics or in local politics in New York City. However, it serves as a focus for leaders from the various nations such as, Guyana, Trinidad, Panama, and the Bahamas, where they can come together in a forum and interrelate with various Caribbean subgroups.

This Foundation, however, has a problem. As an elite group, it has limited contacts with grassroot constituents in the Caribbean community in New York. In attempts to extend itself, and to respond to constituent needs, members are now working on the sponsorship of a Caribbean leadership conference where the participants will be the heads of each of the 250 West Indian associations. This conference will serve as a point of or organization for a more broadly-based network.

In terms of the accomplishment of these aims, the Consuls of the various nations in New York are seeking instructions from their foreign ministries to explore collaborative ventures with these overseas associations. There have been some discussions, for example, of setting up a Caribbean center in New York City. There has been some mention, also, of having

governments provide subsidies for these cooperative ventures. Whereas, many of these Consul Generals were not even aware of their constituents in New York City or of the composition of the Caribbean communities there, the latter are now beginning to play key roles.

Given the significance of the Caribbean Basin Initiative and the development of new types of bilateral agreements with the current administration, relations with immigrant communities are important. One might add that the United States continues to have a strategic interest in the area, as noted by the possibility of establishing a nuclear submarine base in Haiti. I doubt that the United States will be out of Panama by the end of the century and so we can see that relationships with the Caribbean are shaped by the strategic military interests of the United States. Such plans as the Caribbean Basin Initiative tend to be viewed as an overseas development but, in fact, I submit that a large part of the political game-playing is taking place in New York City.

In terms of the implications of these developments for training and research, there is a need to pay more attention to the type of interrelations between groups, namely the connections between U.S. born Blacks and foreign-born Caribbean Blacks. The subject requires serious research. Another area which should be studied is the influence of the colonial heritage on the Black communities in terms of linguistic differences. For example, patterns of social and linguistic stratification exist among Haitians as well as among Hispanic Black groups, and English-speaking Black groups. West Indian associations should be better understood in order to be able to provide more effective services to the immigrant communities. Leadership roles and relations among associations require attention. These West Indian organizations are having impact both in the United States and overseas.

SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS AMONG SOVIET JEWISH REFUGEES

Betty Brodsky
Doctoral Candidate
Adelphi University, School of Social Work

After decades of enforcing a strict policy of nonemigration, since 1973, the Soviet Union has permitted thousands of Jews to leave the U.S.S.R. With many choosing to come to the U.S., more than 80,000 Soviet Jewish immigrants have since settled in this country (H.I.A.S. 1981). Although the crisis of immigration always involves varying degrees of stress, in very specific ways the Soviet emigré population encounters difficulties unique to this group. These difficulties begin at the moment of application to emigrate. In order to leave the Soviet Union the prospective emigré, regardless of age, must submit various documents including written permission for him to leave the U.S.S.R. from his parents and from any former wives or husbands (Geller and Harris 1980). After he has submitted these documents, the hopeful applicant is then left open to months and maybe years of uncertainty, hardship and harrassment. He is likely to be fired from his job and if his initial application is

rejected, he is prohibited from filing another for six months. During this time he is often left with no means of livelihood, never knowing if subsequent applications will be accepted. He is also open to arrest because it is illegal to be unemployed in the U.S.S.R. (Hawks 1977).

The Soviet whose application to emigrate has been accepted must be ready to pay, for each member of his family, the equivalent of three months salary for the loss of Soviet citizenship and another two and a half months salary for an exit visa (Geller and Harris 1980). He must also be ready to risk never seeing close relatives again as well as putting them in jeopardy. As has been reported "the emigration of close relatives almost unavoidable has an effect on the official and social position of those left behind" (Birman 1979:57).

More often than not, the Soviet emigré arrives in the United States with unreal expectations which must be dealt with before a successful acculturation can possibly take place. The tendency of Russian Jews to believe the opposite of what is presented by the Soviet media undoubtedly contributes to this problem (Frank 1975; Gidwitz 1976; Gitelman 1978; Freedman 1971). One Soviet immigrant is quoted as reporting that while the "black view" of America that is often presented is negated, America is made "white" when, in fact, it "may be grey" (Frank 1975:26). According to Robert J. Osborn (1977), an expert on the Soviet welfare system, "it is particularly understandable that many Soviet citizens today, given their inability to travel abroad and the paucity of their information about life in the West, should make a mental utopia of America by adding American freedom and prosperity to the unquestioned benefits of much of the Soviet social environment" (Osborn 1977:86). These benefits, however meager, include free tuition and medical care, cheap public transportation,

subsidized housing and cultural events, as well as job security. Russian-born psychoanalyst Edgar Goldstein states that all these things "offered important ways of fulfilling an individual's needs and thus, were factors in reenforcing the individual's sense of security" (Goldstein 1979:257). Faced with high medical and housing costs, a competitive job market and crime, the Soviet emigré's sense of security and vision of utopia are often quickly and painfully shattered.

Disillusioned and frustrated by the realities of his new life, the Soviet immigrant is also faced with what is for him the colossal task of developing the art of private decision-making (Kahan 1977; Johnston 1979; Rubin 1975). In the words of one executive director whose agency services Russian immigrants, they have, in "a sense sought the best of two worlds, the security of the one they left behind and the choices available in the West" (Fisher 1975:269). However, "freedom of choice about where to live, what school to attend, what to read and what to buy" can overwhelm the immigrant who in the past had never had to make such choices for himself in the ordered and structured society from which he emigrated (Jacobson 1975:93). Although they may long have yearned for freedom of choice, opportunity, and expression, "adaptation to freedom" has been viewed as a "major stumbling block that emigrants from a totalitarian society must face" (Goldstein 1979:258).

Having to make choices never made before, the Soviet Jewish immigrant's sense of competency is often further shaken if because of age, training, or lack of language skills, he must make occupational changes. Even temporary adjustments in the area of employment are perhaps the most difficult of all the tasks he must accomplish in the course of adaptation to life in this country. Coming "from a society where a person [is] only as worthwhile as

the work he [does] " (Maynard 1976), for the Soviet a job means more than a source of livelihood; it is an integral part of his sense of identity. As one vocational counselor who has worked with Soviet immigrants for many years notes, in a society which "restricts the flow of information an speech...career becomes the primary avenue of self-expression..." (Hawks 1977:161). One's job is an especially vital source of such self-expression for the Soviet Jew who has lived with anti-semitism. It has been noted that "in the U.S.S.R., [he] is not allowed to be a Russian, while at the same time he is not allowed to live as a Jew...Deprived of his national origin...the only practical identity that the Soviet Jew has in common with his fellow Soviet is his work title, and even this in a sense, is taken away from him once he leaves the U.S.S.R. and discovers that his professional work title has little meaning in the Western World" (Rubin 1975:196).

Precisely because his very identity and status have in the past been tied to his job, the Soviet emigré is resistant and frightened when confronted with the concept of upward mobility for the first time. As an emigré states in the Soviet Union "it often takes years, if not decades to advance or...change jobs, especially for educated persons...A temporary lowering of job level and social status, so likely for any immigrants, may appear as an irreversible descent and is often forcefully resisted..." (Voitashevsky 1977:135).

In spite of the many unique difficulties Soviet emigrés face during the initial resettlement period, in spite of the fact that "changed material or occupational status may cause or bring to the surface marital or other personal difficulties which impede adjustment to the new society (Gidwitz 1976:40), and in spite of the fact that "depression hits most

of them during their first year" (Johnston 1979:B8). This population has been extremely unresponsive to using traditional mental health services. These services, along with vocational and financial assistance, are always offered to the new immigrant during his initial resettlement period by the network of Jewish Federation agencies across the country. Those working directly with this population, usually social workers, have repeatedly reported that their efforts to engage Russian emigrés in professional relationships are continually met with mistrust and manipulation (Osborn 1977; Jewish Week-American Examiner 1978; Dorf 1979; Hoffman 1979; Rubin 1975; Sprafkin 1975; Cunningham and Dorf 1979; Hawks 1977). If the Russian immigrant does not turn to the mental health professional for help, whom then does he consult when faced with the type of problems that social workers and other mental health professionals have been trained to deal with?

I am currently in the midst of the data collection phase of the first empirical study documenting the help-seeking behavior of the first large immigrant group from a Communist country. My research addresses the primary question: Who do Russian immigrants identify as sources of assistance for mental health problems? In addition, I am seeking answers to the following secondary questions:

a) Whom do Soviet emigrés identify as sources of initial advice regarding mental health problems?
b) Who is considered to be the best source of help for these problems?
c) What is the help-seeking process for Russian immigrants?
d) To what extent are social agencies viewed as sources of assistance for the type of problems presented?

e) How do the responses of this group compare to those of other ethnic groups?

The sample, consisting of approximately 125 recent Russian immigrants, has been obtained from English as a Second Language classes in the three areas of New York City containing the highest concentrations of Soviet immigrants in the United States. These neighborhoods probably contain the largest Soviet-born population of any place in the world outside the Soviet Union itself.

The primary method of data collection is an open-ended and structured Russian-language questionnaire which is based on a series of ten reaction vignettes describing individuals suffering from mental health problems (Star 1955). The technique was originally developed by Star at the National Opinion Research Center in the 1950s to study attitudes towards mental illness. It has since been used in studies with many different ethnic groups. The instrument for the current study consists of six vignettes adapted from Star's originals as well as four others developed by the researcher. Following each vignette, subjects are asked to indicate initial sources of assistance, the best source of help as well as the help-seeking process that would seem most appropriate to the particular problem situation. Respondents are also asked to report on socio-demographic variables and personal characteristics including: sex, length of time in the United States, place of residence in the U.S.S.R., marital status, education, profession, and religious identification.

With less than half of the data collected it is much too early to undertake formal analysis of the responses or to form any definitive conclusions. However, very preliminary findings thus far indicate that Russian immigrants tend to emphasize the primary associations of relatives

and friends as sources of assistance for mental health problems. If this finding continues to hold out it should not be surprising in view of the nature of interpersonal relations in Soviet society. As Hedrik Smith notes, all of one's interpersonal relationships in the Soviet Union are viewed in the context of 'official' relationships and 'private' ones. According to Smith, the very "existence of Soviets is divided into their public lives and their private lives." He reports that while "this happens anywhere to some degree..., Russians distinguish between official relationships and personal relationships... more sharply than others because of political pressures for conformity. So they adopt two very different codes of behavior for their two lives. In one they are taciturn, hypocritical, careful, cagey, passive; in the other, they are voluble, honest, direct, open, passionate. In one, thoughts and feelings are held in check...In the other, emotions flow warmly, without moderation" (Smith 1976:105).

In Russia, even the act of smiling is influenced by the division between 'official' relationships and private ones. In a guidebook about American life especially prepared for the Soviet immigrant he is told that "the smile is very important in America and is used in greeting both friends and strangers" (Harris 1976:98).

If the smile in the Soviet Union is reserved for friends, so is a very special depth of feeling and sense of commitment. Because they cannot afford to risk being open and honest with most people, Russians are usually committed to fewer close associates than is common in the West. However, as Smith (1976) notes, "within the trusted circle there is an intensity in Russian relationships that Westerners find both exhilarating and exhausting. When they finally open up, Russians are looking for a soul-brother, not a mere conversational partner. They want someone to whom they can pour out

their hearts, share their miseries, tell about family problems..." (Smith 1976:110). In Kaiser's view, the extremely intense friendship bonds that exist among adults in the Soviet Union are generally dissolved after adolescence in the West" (Kaiser 1976:428). It is through intimacy that Soviets obtain a "form of protection against outside pressures as well as an opportunity to "redeem one's self-respect by behaving according to high personal standards" that often must be compromised in one's 'official' life (Kaiser 1976:428,204).

While physicians thus far appear to follow primary associations as major sources of assistance for mental health problems among immigrants surveyed, only a low percentage of respondents tend to identify mental health professionals and agencies as important sources of help for the type of problems depicted. This finding should also not be considered unusual in view of the nature of the social service and mental health systems in the U.S.S.R. Only recently have some psychiatric outpatient clinics sprung up in large Soviet cities. And according to Amnesty International (Rubinstein 1980) and others (Jewish Week-American Examiner 1978; Reich 1979; Kaiser 1976), in the Soviet Union political nonconformity is characterized as a psychiatric problem to be treated by enforced commitment to mental hospitals. Dissidents held in Soviet mental institutions may also be subjected to the enforced use of permanently-damaging drugs (Kaiser 1976:214). It should certainly not be surprising then, that "immigrants here fear to trust anyone called psychologist or psychiatrist" (Jewish Week-American Examiner 1978:28). And although all societies, including that of the U.S.S.R., perform social welfare functions under various auspices, the social work profession as such does not at all exist in the Soviet Union (Madison 1968: Chapter 6). We

can, therefore, expect the new emigré to be puzzled and confused by the role of the social worker assigned to help him with all aspects of his resettlement.

It is frequently noted in the literature that because of his background in a Communist society and former experience only with municipal government agencies, the newly arrived Soviet emigré also does not understand our concept of voluntarism, that a voluntary agency is not an extension of the State, and that social and mental health agency employees are not government officials (Solender 1977; Schwartz 1979; Gitelman 1978; Dublin 1978; Rubin 1975; Levenfeld 1977; Zeff 1975; Sprakfin 1975; Gidwitz 1976). The mistrust and manipulation exhibited by him towards social workers and other mental health professionals might also be better understood if we will understand the Russian view of authority in general. As one social worker has noted, "There is a line from 'Fiddler on the Roof' in which a Rabbi is asked to say a prayer for the Czar. He says 'May God bless and keep the Czar far away from us'." The Czar has a substitute now but the concept is the same. Authority and government officials are not to be challenged or disagreed with. It's too dangerous. As persons to be dealt with in one's 'official' life, authorities can, however, "be avoided, manipulated or ignored" (Dorf 1979:53). agencies that employ them seem to be viewed as such authorities by the Soviet immigrant, at this point in my research, physicians seem to be exempt from this purview. This is a point that will need further exploration should final data analysis hold it to be true.

In view of the many stresses facing immigrants, the prevention of social and emotional dysfunction should be seen as a major goal of mental health professionals working with emigrés to this country. The

identification of the immigrant's own sources of assistance for mental health and family problems can help us achieve the goal of prevention by helping us redefine out units of intervention and social diagnosis. Although relatives and friends seem emphasized by Russian immigrants as important sources of assistance for the type of problems that are of concern to mental health specialists, agencies serving this population tend to ignore the emotional support provided by these primary groups.

During my own work with Soviet immigrants in a resettlement agency, I often observed that calls and visits from relatives and friends were considered as time-consuming interferences by the professional working with the emigré. Relatives bringing a newly arrived family to the agency often were not invited to contact the mental health worker. In light of the patterns of primary interdependence of the Soviet emigré with relatives and friends, it is time for resettlement agencies to consider approaches which incorporate these significant others in the helping process. If we are truly interested in the full independence of the emigré and if we believe in the importance of supportive linkages between people, we can no longer ignore that such linkages may already exist. Professionals must begin to recognize them, reinforce them, support them, and develop strategies to work together with them.

If we wish to reach out to clients who are not yet ready to reach out to us, we must begin to establish links between formal helping systems and those informal systems emigré populations bring with them. One major way in which such links can be constructed is through the use of consultation techniques. "By identifying central figures in helping networks and extending consultation to them" (Collins and Pancoast 1976) in the forms of training and education, the professional will be able to indirectly extend his expert services to larger numbers of people in newly

arrived populations. Let us assume that final data analysis will support the preliminary finding that physicians are a vital resource for assistance for mental health problems in the Soviet immigrant group. If every doctor working in this emigré community were involved in such a consultation relationship by being matched with a mental health professional, many immigrants might receive, granted in an indirect manner, crisis intervention and other mental health services they might never receive otherwise. While such an approach certainly extends scarce agency resources in these days of tight budgets, it is hoped that as the identified helpers involved in consultation relationships become more knowledgeable about the consultant's expertise in handling situations, individuals having severe problems will be encouraged to consult the professional directly.

Resettled relatives and friends who, in turn, help newly arrived families, can also be encouraged to enter consultation relationships. In this way they may receive reinforcement and aid in sustaining whatever assistance is provided by them to the emigré. The creation of workshops and informal discussion groups for receiving families is one way in which such reinforcement, support, and guidance can be provided to those whose help is perhaps the most valued and sought after by the immigrant we serve.

If the immigrant feels most comfortable expressing personal thoughts, feelings, and experiences in the company of primary groups, professionals might also work to create mutual aid groups consisting of networks of emigrés and their informal supports. In this way resources known and available in one informal network can be shared with others. In addition, the self-confidence promoted through mutual help can also be expected to enhance the coping capacities of the emigré in addressing both the emotional issues as well as the concrete tasks involved in his successful resettlement.

Soviet immigrants are certainly not the only newcomers reluctant to use services that are new and strange to them. It is hoped that this study will promote further research of cultural patterns of help-seeking among other immigrant groups. With the immigrant often needing our help, it is up to us to provide it in a way in which it can be used and accepted.

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COMMENTATOR

Leonard D. Borman
Director
Self-Help Center, Evanston, Illinois

While I wear the hat here of anthropologist and social scientist, I am also the child of immigrant parents who came to America from Europe. My mother was the youngest of nine sisters, and she recounted the story many times of how the ship in which she crossed the Atlantic sank off the coast of Labrador. She survived, as did the other members of her family, in a life-boat that was rescued by another vessel. So in a sense, I can feel at home on this panel, since I, too, am a descendant of boat people.

As I listen to the panel, I was struck by some common characteristics that seemed to emerge across the range of groups represented here, and others that I can relate to. I would like to say something about these common patterns that some of us are beginning to identify in the self-help/mutual aid movement. This is a movement that goes beyond refugees and historical groups, into the formation of hundreds of groups that we now find both in the United States and abroad, that represent almost every kind of condition and affliction in any community of the world.

Mr. Sem Yang's descriptions, and his great sensitivity to the history of continuity of the Cambodian people, applies to many of these other groups as well. The sense of being uprooted, of facing annihilation, of knowing oppression and suffering, and experiencing family loss -- these seem to be devastations shared by many, and you don't need to be a refugee to experience this. He described so well the personal consequences of such experiences where you can end up not trusting anybody. The basis for human interaction, for human community has all but disintegrated.

Against this human panorama, professionals, administrators, human service agencies, try to provide help and information and somehow expect the recipients to respond by being most grateful. They may overlook, as Sem Yang points out, that there may have been a basic shattering of trust and alienation and estrangement, that is far reaching. This may be common not only to refugees, but to patients, clients, children, consumers, and other populations. We find many of these populations turning to self-help/mutual aid groups that they can rely on and trust. They may no longer be able to communicate with governments, bureaucracies, and other established agencies. We need to pay more attention to these mutual aid support groups, since they have been providing important resources to more and more populations.

Sem Yang described the Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association as groups to which members develop commitments. That is a very important word, commitment, to which I would like to draw attention. His association is not a weekend encounter group. We are not talking about a classroom that meets for ten weeks to learn about the nature of something or other. We are talking about people who are part and parcel of a fabric, that knows of its beginning and together develop their common ends. His association, and other mutual aid groups, are part of something that is enduring. It does not dissolve because the group failed to get its government grant. It does not dissolve because the semester is over or the leader decides not to show up.

We are dealing here with another kind of group phenomenon that is enduring and to which members have a commitment. Mutual aid groups have continuity over time, and in this sense, they are quite distinct from other forms of organization with which we may be familiar, or of which we may be a part.

Another dimension that was raised in the panel was the focus, for some groups, on social action and advocacy. Not all mutual aid groups move into the advocacy arena. They may focus solely on the important issues of providing services for each other. In some cases, as Yang Sem points out, you are forced to take a position of social action where your family, your next of kin, your relatives are concerned.

Cynthia Coleman reveals how the Cambodian Association itself has become a partner, in this case with our federal government, in refugee resettlement. This is a remarkable achievement. It should be encouraged and promoted. There is no question in my mind that the members of the groups themselves have much more to offer each other than any of the rest of us. It is right that they should participate in the resettlement of their own people. Few mutual aid groups are geographically bounded. They are, in fact, "dispersed communities." In this sense they maintain their contact and connections across the usual geographic parameters. In this sense, they represent common interest groups, or voluntary associations, that can be found in almost every society, on every continent. Some mutual aid groups may in fact be based on historical common ties of culture or race or recent common history. These would be the more traditional mutual aid groups. In contrast would be the ad hoc groups made up of persons that have common interests, whether they be afflictions, or experiences of conditions that we face together.

One of the basic characteristics of members of groups is something that might be called "instant identity". One can identify very quickly with someone who shares the trauma, the conditions, the heritage. This is someone with whom you can communicate with since they have been through a similar experience. Your juices begin to flow again, when you meet someone

with whom you can communicate. Your sense of alienation, of estrangement, might be somewhat diminished. This is a basic characteristic we find in all self-help/mutual aid groups. It provides a sense of universality, of communication, of sharing.

Many of us have been impressed with self-help/mutual aid groups, since they seem to have such an important impact on their participants. Betty Brodsky's dissertation provides a good example of this among Soviet/Jewish refugees. Betty's findings indicate this universality, this sense of not being alone, that there is somebody who cares. There are people you can trust, and people who trust you.

There is another dimension that emerges in these groups, and that is the quality of hope. We have seen this with groups organized around terminal illness, mental illness, cancer, and other life-threatening affiliations. As with refugees, these are also survivors. Sometimes you don't know how long you're going to last, and you don't know what the future holds in store. Still the group provides that important quality of hope. Life may improve in the next few days, or the next few hours, or the next few minutes.

Having hope is connected very closely to another dimension we find in self-help/mutual aid groups, and that is the importance of common belief systems and ideologies. Mr. Marcos Mason has described over 250 Caribbean immigrant associations in the New York area. My guess is that each of the groups may have some common ideology or belief system that they have as Jamaicans or immigrants from Barbados, or as nurses from the Caribbean Islands working in the New York City area. Belief systems and ideologies that we have found with specific groups are powerful indeed. They are persuasive for many who struggle with problems of addiction, or trauma, or

other overwhelming conditions. These ideologies provide what one researcher called, "cognitive antidotes." The belief systems may provide a common tie that goes across the dispersed network, that unites all of the members with some common understandings about their condition or experience. It would take some common coalition to bring such groups together for united action. I wish Mr. Mason much success in his efforts to do this with 250 groups.

These dimensions of common identity, continuity and commitment, developing a sense of hope, sharing a belief system and an ideology, are not always understood clearly by agencies and professionals that ostensibly try to be helpful. Much of the theory and many of the models of help for this that are used by our human service agencies are drawn from psychodynamics, counseling and case work, and focus on individuals rather than groups. Even the fields of group work and community organization, as developed by social work, have not fared so well through support and recognition across our country. The widespread development of self-help/mutual aid groups is drawing increased attention to these fields once again.

The groups that you represent, and the broad array of self-help/mutual aid groups across the country are sending the message that often you, yourself know what is best for your own people. No outsiders can really decide what is best for you. This may account for one of the reasons self-help/mutual aid groups are growing as rapidly as they are. That is to say, the people themselves want to participate in their own lives, their own recovery, the decisions that affect their destiny. They are not so willing to turn these important matters over to authorities or experts or specialists.

Moreover, those of us on the outside need to learn to listen more carefully. Much of what your panelists described today pointed to gaps in

human and social services, and tugs of war that go on between various social agencies; an awful lot of people get caught in the cross-fire, or fall between the cracks if you use another analogy. The mutual aid groups we have heard about today provide a refreshing contrast to the impersonal, bureaucratic society in which we live. These are people who care, who are available, who can be reached at almost any hour. Moreover, they don't charge a fee, they don't require you to give your Blue Cross card number, and you don't need to make an appointment!

One powerful element that has been identified in self-help/mutual aid groups that I am sure operates with refugee associations as well is what has been called the "helper/therapy principle." The psychologists refer to this as altruism. It simply states that when you help somebody else they might not benefit but you always do. Robert Hutchins once referred to this principle in education when he stated that you never learn anything unless you really have to teach it to somebody else. Getting actively involved in helping other people, does an enormous amount of good for the person who provides the help. Participation and involvement, helping other people, is not only good therapy, it is good citizenship.

Another important characteristic of mutual aid groups that is relatively easy to identify is the wealth of information they provide about their special concern or condition. In our scientific, technical world, we have a tendency to underrate information that is not gathered and assembled by scientists, and yet the groups you represent are some of the best sources for information about the situations you face. Why? Because your very survival and your family and friends may be at stake. A scientist or researcher or professional may have a passing or temporary concern, but you have an all-abiding commitment. Professionals who have a tendency to deal

with people as numbers or units or cases in an effort to maintain their objectivity, often lose sight of this important fact.

For example, for a long time in the United States, it was assumed by professionals, administrators, and politicians, that refugees and immigrants coming to our land would eventually assimilate and disappear. America was to be the melting pot. Even A. Kroeber, who wrote a classic text in anthropology, felt that American immigrants would be bull-dozed into the landscape and become unrecognizable (Kroeber 1974:199). But this has not happened and it was presumptious of our professionals and officials to assume that it would. For whether a people decide to hold on to their traditions, or move into the mainstream, is a decision they should make, and not anyone else.

In conclusion, let me reiterate that those who are providing professional services, or involved in administration of agencies need to recognize the patterns we have identified here that characterize some of the important dimensions of populations, whether they be traditional, historical groups, or newly formed ad hoc mutual aid groups. They need to be recognized for the wisdom and experience they exemplify. They need to be included in decisions that affect their lives. This may involve a new kind of communication, a new openness, a new partnership or collaboration, between distinctive populations and those professionals or agencies concerned with their good and welfare, as suggested by Betty Brodsky in her ongoing research among Soviet/Jewish refugees. The example we have heard on this panel, of the Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association's involvement with the resettlement of other Cambodian refugees, also clearly indicates this kind of collaboration.

Finally, the values we hear presented today, of neighbors helping neighbors, reaching out and helping one another, hearkens back to the

barn-raising days of our own society, where the ideas of mutual aid and support systems were more prevalent. Maybe the refugee and new immigrant-groups will help bring back a revival of these values that are so important to all of us.

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IV. IMMIGRANT AND REFUGEE WOMEN AS ENTREPRENEURS AND ARTISTS

MAINSTREAMING REFUGEE WOMEN'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Deborah McGlauflin
Indochina Refugee Action Center
Washington, D.C.

It has been several years since the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees first designated refugee women as a particularly "vulnerable" segment of the world's growing refugee population. However, it is now becoming apparent that not only has the true nature of their vulnerability been misunderstood, but that it has been inadvertently intensified in a number of ways by relief and resettlement efforts. Refugee women's needs have been described, until recently, almost solely in terms which focus on their roles as wives and mothers and which presuppose passive dependence and homebound isolation. In short, the fact that they are commonly the economic mainstay of their households--or at least major economic contributors--has gone unrecognized. This oversight has been reflected in programs developed for them which, until recently, have not given any priority to supporting their economic activity.

It is impossible to draw a single profile of the hundreds of thousands of refugee women who have fled from Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America to be resettled

in the United States. Their needs and resources vary dramatically according with their ethnic and national background, educational level and degree of literacy, age/generation, marital/parental status, urban/rural background and socio-economic status, life and work experience before becoming a refugee, the circumstances of flight from their home country, and the legal status accorded them here in the United States.

However, some generalizations can be made. Refugee women who arrive here are survivors. They bring with them the trauma of flight from their homeland. Many--far too many--have endured: loss of or separation from family members, rape, imprisonment, piracy, and other near-death experiences. Upon resettlement, these women may find themselves heads of fragmented families. Even those whose families are intact find that economic pressures and the duress of adapting to a totally new environment result in major changes in roles and relationships often producing considerable personal stress and family tensions.

Such change is inevitable. Unfortunately, the existing system of resettlement services (which includes programs for those with refugee or entrant status) has worked to uphold the traditional family and the male role as head of household, with the result that it denies change and tries to artificially preserve a family ideal which is, in many cases, based more on ideals than on fact, and which tends to ignore the past and present economic activity of women. Consequently, enormous pressure is put on men to make refugee households self-sufficient, while women are largely overlooked and unsupported as resources, and the family receives little to no help in positively managing volatile changes in roles and relationships.

Even without serious attention from the resettlement system, refugee women are hardly passive recipients of their fate. Resettlement workers

frequently comment on the remarkable ability of refugee women to adapt to new situations and demands and on the considerable variety of economic activity they demonstrate in the areas of income generation, employment and small business development. In part, their resourcefulness and flexibility is due to the fact that they had less invested by way of power and prestige in the status quo and are, therefore, less threatened by changes in it.

Whatever their motivation, refugee women are commonly the economic mainstay of their families. A recent survey conducted by the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service[1] reveals the following about the adjustment of Indochinese women one year after their arrival in the United States:

- One-third of the 238 families from which the target group of 347 women (17 years of age and older) was drawn had no male as the main wage-earner. The female family heads were accompanied by nuclear or extended family dependents.
- One-third of the women directly interviewed were employed, with the largest number of those employed under age 25 and the smallest number over age 40. Most of the working women were employed in factories or had service positions; very few held professional or semi-professional positions.
- Of the working women, 35% identified themselves as main providers for their families; 65% considered themselves to be significant contributors (including those who said they made a contribution equal to that of their husbands).

More specifically, it is possible to delineate four ways in which refugee women make economic contributions to their families and communities:

- They preserve family income by gleaning food from fields and cooperating to decrease diaper costs and child care costs; in this way they help the family income go further.
- They generate income--often through home-based activities, such as craft production, piecework, and home-care--by using existing skills and resources. Income generating options, however, need to be further explored. They can be a trap for women in that they tend to be labor-intensive, result in little income, and are characterized by few, if any, benefits, and training and advancement opportunities. In short, exploitation is a risk; however, a properly planned income generating activity can also be a positive step towards employment that provides a woman with training and confidence.
- They are employed outside the home in canning, hotel housekeeping, domestic work, industrial sewing and other low-income occupations. Refugee women, unlike many men, will often take any job and frequently several jobs. Most find their work through friends or relatives, receive little language and skills training and face transportation and child care obstacles. Job security and advancement opportunities are major problems.
- Finally, refugee women are job creators, as well as job seekers; many are entrepreneurs who start up small businesses to serve their ethnic community and, eventually, their broader host community. There are many examples of businesswomen who are retailers, car dealership partners, franchise owners, and sole owners of restaurants. Obtaining credit, securing loans, understanding tax laws, and following proper accounting and

bookkeeping procedures are among commonly cited problems.

In the United States, the failure to reduce the incidence of poverty in the last decade was due primarily to the rising number of female-headed households with poverty-level incomes.[2] In this light, the economic development problems faced by refugee women are shared by many other women in this country. They are women's development problems and are beginning to be discussed and addressed as such by women in business and banking, women's service groups, professional women's networks and women's employment programs.

Refugee women are not only wives and mothers, they are workers, producers and employers. Like their American counterparts, although they have special needs, they also have special resources that they themselves can bring to bear on improving their personal and family situation. They demonstrate tremendous potential for self-help that need only be recognized and supported by their host American communities.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Excerpts are from "One Year After Arrival--The Adjustment of Indochinese Women in the United States, 1979-1980," Ingrid Walter, Director, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service.

[2] Nancy Barrett and Robert Crosslin, "Poverty in Female-Headed Households," National Conference on Social Welfare, San Francisco, 1980.

THE EMERGENCE OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN ARTISTS

Eugenia A. Franklin-Springer
Lutt's Production, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

I admire the woman who is not contented with merely being fed, but who also feels impelled to feed, with the woman who is not contented with merely being led, but who realizes that she too must some day rise up and lead. When such a woman distinguished herself as an immigrant in as multi-national and muti-ethnic a population as we have in the Washington metropolitan area, she is admired even more. And we have such women in the Caribbean community. I have spoken with several of them over the past week to find out just what their experience has been like, and what quality of support they perceive themselves receiving from the Caribbean community.

I spoke with both entrepreneurs and artists. In the entrepreneurial area, I spoke with women who are in the food business (restaurants and bakery), graphic design, consulting work, and health delivery services. Some of these women are single, some are married to Caribbean men, one is married to an Afro-American.

I'll use first names in talking about some of these experiences. Among the entrepreneurs, my friend, Billie, who has been in the U.S.A. for 14 years, owns the graphic design business. She said, "It's like sort of staying out of the madhouse...It's a man's world. As a woman, you have to go through a lot to be taken seriously. The challenge is to show that work and products stand firm... they come with no fringe benefits. You must

maintain a standard of ethics in the face of competition."

Billie does not perceive the survival of her business as being dependent in any way on the Caribbean community. She appeals to the international community, has some excellent clients within the Caribbean community, but also has her worst experiences (e.g. not paying on time) within her own community. She has had no problems with finances because her banker is a fellow Jamaican who looks out for her. Also, she has a brother who is a lawyer.

I asked, "Were you ready for the business world when once you had stepped out?" She said "No." She had worked as a supervisor at a Graphics Design place before branching out in her own business, and had underestimated the magnitude of the problem. But her business is doing well. She did not perceive her business only as a Caribbean business in the Caribbean community.

Addie owns the Islander Restaurant on Sherman Avenue, near Howard University. She is married to an Afro-American she met in England. Addie has always rebelled against control. She has always wanted to be different. Her American-born husband, often cautioned her by saying, "This is not Trinidad. You are in America." Of course, she heard him but never really listened to him.

Since 1964, when she first arrived in Washington, Addie, a trained psychiatric nurse, had been dreaming of opening up her own restaurant. She frequently participated in all city celebrations, helping with planning, and all the while introducing Caribbean foods. All through her children's school life, she maintained close contact with the schools, taking every opportunity to introduce Caribbean culture and cuisine at school gatherings. As the Caribbean community grew, and Caribbean festivals became popular, Addie's planning expertise and Addie's cuisine became more widely

widely known. Finally, in 1979, Addie opened up the Islander Restaurant, only to find out a few months later that she had subleased from a man who was collecting her rent but not paying it to management. Also, she had rented a building that had been rejected by the Licensing Board because of electrical problems. Alone, and not for one moment feeling she needed the help of her husband, Addie carried her case to Court and won.

Addie sees her business as a Caribbean business. But her clientele is made up of more than the Caribbean community. Nonetheless, she definitely feels that she has not been assimilated into the American way of life.

Howard University with its proximity to her place of business provides her with a ready clientele. She has not had financial problems. She does not view herself as a woman libber who operates independently of her husband. She consults with him on every aspect of her business. He just leaves the running of the business up to her.

Jean is from Dominica. She studied at the London School of Economics and worked in economic development in Tanzania and Zambia as well as projects in Lusaka. She met her Irish-American husband in England and came to the U.S.A. in 1978. She tried to get a job, but also had no luck. So, she started a consulting business, working out of her home. She also did a one and a half year program with the Inter-American Commission of Women (Organization of American States), finding funding for women's projects in the Caribbean.

Jean frequented seminars on Development, and picked up a few jobs here and there, including a job with Partners of America, where she introduced their program to several Caribbean countries. She requested a job with Partners of America. They offered her one in the Caribbean. When they needed a representative in Washington, they chose a white male, whom they asked Jean to coach.

Jean has established an organization called Caribbean Development International (CDI), a tax-exempt non-profit organization, through which she is trying to get recognition for Caribbean people in the U.S., who want to work with the U.S. in developing programs for the Caribbean.

I asked her what sort of responses to entrepreneurship she perceived coming out of the Caribbean community. She said that response is good in rhetoric, but in reality, there is little help. She perceives a need for heightened awareness of the potential of Caribbean women. She sees a need for education in management.

The last time I saw Jean was about a week ago, when six of us from the Caribbean community met together in the office of Arrington Dixon, Chairperson of the D.C. Council. Jean had called the meeting to find out how the people in the Caribbean community could have political clout.

Jean sees the non-profit sector being dominated by middle and upper class white ethnic groups. Often she feels like an intruder (a determined intruder). In her field, she perceives differential treatment resulting

more from racial bias than from sex bias. She perceives the white woman as being more accepted.

Now for the female Caribbean artists. I would say that those female artists who really stand out in the Caribbean community are the visual and literary artists.

I asked several of our artists how they perceive support in the Caribbean community. They said it is minimum. These artists do not perceive themselves as cohesive agents within the Caribbean community. They say that they do not consciously seek to portray the experiences of the immigrant Caribbean community here in D.C. One artist seeks to recapture life (oil on canvas) as she recalls it from her experiences in the homeland. Another seeks to portray the development of man's spiritual development and any experience that affects her deeply.

But even though these artists perceive themselves as being supported by, or part of the Caribbean community, when leaders in the Caribbean community talk about its artists, they invariably mention these visual artists.

From Guyana we have a woman by the name of Stella Clarke, who has organized a dance group of Caribbean girls. Stella does a live-in job. She was the first of her family to come to the U.S. She recently succeeded in bringing up all her children (five) and her husband. Her ten year old daughter is making the Queh Queh dance of Guyana (a traditional) Guyanese dance) popular in these parts. Perhaps I can best capture the emergence of the Caribbean female artist by running through my own experience. First, let me emphasize that in the environment out of which I came, the big

the big accomplishment was to be a doctor (medical), or a lawyer. To be a dentist, was an apology for not being able to make it as a doctor. To say in that type of atmosphere that you wanted to be a writer, was to convince those who wanted you to become a doctor that you were playing the fool. And I wanted to be a writer.

There was a longing, a yearning for an embracing of all mankind, that was welling up in me, and that was exploding within me. While I studied Cytology, Protozoology, and Biochemical Genetics, and marvelled at the intricacies of life at the molecular and subatomic levels, I also contemplated on the basic structure of human nature, and felt convinced that there was a common denominator running through the species, Homo sapiens. I was more interested in discovering that common denominator than I was in identifying active sites and points of mutations on enzymes and DNA molecules.

With my Ph.D. certificate stuffed away in some box in a closet, and poetry and fear pounding my chest for release, I set about organizing poetry readings. At these sessions I would have other aspiring artists perform (musicians, poets, and singers, -- not dancers, because I was a Seventh Day Adventist and they think that dancing is a sin; "I am no longer a Seventh Day Adventist;" and I would share my poems and short stories.

But we were not drawing more than 30 to 40 persons; and then it was mainly church folks. And though many of them commended me, and thought me good, I'd feel high for a few days after the performance, and then feel foolish, as if I hadn't really made a contribution.

I traveled to Antigua, W.I. in 1978, and because of contacts, was invited to share my poetry on radio, and at the extramural extension of

the University of the West Indies. I was well received. On my return to Washington, D.C., I contacted the hosts of our two Caribbean radio programs. I sent them a demo-cassette of my poetry, and little did I know how much the Caribbean community had wanted this material. They laughed and cried over my poetry.

Soon I was in demand by many little groups in town. And it seemed as though I was setting in as one of the many little spinners of verse; and that frightening awareness catapulted me out of all those numerous little poetry readings. I did not want to be merely a poet. I was not about to, and had no desire to negate my intellectual training.

Who was I? Biologist or Poet?

I wanted to write on relevant, meaningful themes. I needed help. I needed guidance. I sought help, and was referred to the Deputy Director of Education at the Organization of American States. He was a fellow Trinidadian. He listened patiently, then suggested that he could invite friends over to his place, and have me read for them or arrange to go to diplomats' homes for readings. But that was not what I wanted. As I was leaving, he chuckled and quipped, "You are a crazy bird, with a Ph.D., and wanting to write poetry."

I was praying for guidance. I was confused. My parents were on my back. They wanted me to get a job and provide material comforts for the family. My husband was trying to be patient, but couldn't always mask his impatience. I was feeling like a failure, but resisting all attempts to turn me aside from my goal of becoming a good writer. I had to hide my aspirations deep inside me, and refrain from discussing them with those close to me.

In 1978, I registered Lutt's Productions, Inc. I got my friend from the Organization of American States, another friend who was the host of one of the Caribbean radio programs, my husband, and several others, to make up the Board of Directors. The purpose of Lutt's is to give others, who like myself, are searching for some outlet for their artistic talents, the chance to meet the public. Other purposes are: 1) To teach and reinforce positive societal values, and 2) To foster cross-cultural exchange. Through Lutt's we organize a variety of programs, public forums, drama groups, and radio programs. We also publish books.

In this paper I have recaptured the emergence of Caribbean female entrepreneurs and artists in the Washington area. I think I have covered generally what it is like for this immigrant female to emerge.

ISSUES IN AFRO-HISPANIC DEVELOPMENT

Dorotea Lowe Bryce
Liaison for Hispanic Ministries
Baltimore Conference Commission on Religion and Race

I would like to touch upon just one of the problems which emerges in planning services to the Hispanic community in Washington, D.C. and to comment through it on the heterogeneous nature of this community. Too often we fail to make this heterogeneity a part of the consideration in making decisions which affect a whole group, although at times we read about it, and at times we speak of it.

To introduce the subject, permit me to use an example which highlights subtle intercultural dynamics. In a local Black Hispanic Church in which most of the faithful are of Central American background, it became necessary to appoint a new pastor. By choosing the minister on an availability basis, a South American evangelical was selected. The persons who made the decision to select this pastor were all non-Spanish speaking individuals who were not sensitive to the heterogeneity in Latin American societies. This ministry was not as successful as was anticipated. The Board decided, therefore, to select another pastor, also on an availability basis, without consultation with knowledgeable or sensitive persons in the Church. This time the prime candidate turned out to be a person from the Southwest United States whose cultural background was also different. The point is not to dismiss the commitment to a church which any pastor brings, but on the basis of previous experiences one would like to believe that the cultural factor would have had a greater bearing in choice of pastors.

The model to be used for the present commentary is a segment of the Hispanic population similar to the church community mentioned above. It is Afro-Hispanic, largely composed of descendants of persons who have migrated from the Caribbean area to the mainland Americas beginning with the the middle of the 19th century. Hopefully, my comments and those of this group will help to sensitize others to the variations within Hispanic populations and to the implications of this knowledge for planning and action. To illustrate the problems, I will rely, to a large extent on my own experience as a Panamanian-born, Afro-Hispanic.

I was born into a very mixed community in Panama, mixed both ethnically and economically. If one were to use as a reference the racial blend found in the schools I attended, what would be found is that my earliest school (nursery) had a student population composed of 80 per cent Mestizos, 20 per cent Blacks, and a Mestizo teacher. For a couple of years after nursery school I attended Black schools with an English-style curriculum. Then, I went to an elementary school which had a population of approximately one-third Blacks, two-thirds Mestizo, a few Indians, and other minorities. The student body of my high school was about 90 per cent Black and of the rest, about 8 per cent White Americans and 2 per cent Mestizo. I attended and graduated from White colleges in the United States which had only a minority population of Black students.

Adjustments in the U.S.

Among the Afro-Hispanics from my country who migrated to the United States during the 60s, there was a majority who like myself are bilingual/bicultural and speak Spanish and English with equal fluency. Our varied backgrounds generally have provided mobility within all groups in the United States, and we often enjoy a status of what could be called "brokers," linking two populations, usually one Hispanic and the other White or Black. Our experiences from home have been translated into participation in the mainstream of this society with little difficulty, especially with the onset of the Black Movement of the 60s. Many Afro-Panamanians, especially those who were employed with the Americans on the Canal Zone, entered newly created jobs because they were already trained, generally had experience in working in a similar system, they were bilingual and they integrated easily. In many cases they contributed towards making the transition of other Blacks and Hispanics into these jobs much smoother. Many were participants in the student movements while some served with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference under Martin Luther King. At least one became a New York legislator. Others served in Departments of Afro-American Studies, including those at Harvard and Yale.

The present situation is a contrast. There is presently a home-grown group of Hispanic and Black leaders, actively participating in the American system. Further, the resources available for new immigrants have either diminished or must be stretched even more to meet the continuing flow of immigrants and refugees from almost all the continents.

Ethnic Relationships in Panama

Panama, as everywhere else, has been influenced by the worldwide quest of Black people for social, political and economic participation. Due to constant pressures from local Black activists, an accord seems to have been struck, a clear acceptance of these descendants of English-speaking immigrants into the family of "The Panamanian Man." This has come through a process whereby the National Institute of Culture (INAC), has divided the "family" into four major groupings: "White, Indian, Colonial Black, and Afro-Antillian Black." This effort at integration has been reinforced by the same Institute's sponsorship of an additional museum, to honor the ancestors of the Blacks for their labors in building the railroads during the 19th century and the Panama Canal at the turn of this century. This familial tie has been strengthened further by the active Afro-Panamanian support for Panama--in the form of lobbying and demonstrating--during Panama's dispute and successful negotiations of the Panama Canal Treaties. This was done at the risk of jeopardizing employment prospects for family members with the Canal organization.

However, this relationship is probably not well-known or understood in the rest of the Hispanic world. This writer has had the experience of being passed over on two occasions in Hispanic organizations, when the issue of the Canal was being discussed. Yet, I was the only person present on either occasion who had any direct link with the Panama Canal issue. (At the time I had five brothers and sisters whose jobs were to be directly impacted by the Canal negotiations. Furthermore at the time, a brother-in-law was also serving as a negotiator for Panama with the Treaties.)

It has been my observation that in countries subjected to frequent changes in cultural patterns due to migration, wars or other influences,

noticeable changes in their cultural expressions become observable within about 20 years. Some of the observable changes I have noticed in Panama seem amusing, while others are disturbing.

For about ten years, for example, there has been an absence in Panama of any newspaper directly serving the Afro-Panamanian community. Just about six months ago, however, a Sunday supplement was added to the newspaper "La Republica" combining both national and Afro-Panamanian news. I received my copy just about the time preparations were taking place for the National Carnival. Over a half-page photo of the Afro-Panamanian Queen was the caption, "La Panameñísima Reina Negra" (Our Most Panamanian Black Queen). This seemed to me to be the strongest statement on blackness since someone spoke of "Our Black Shining Prince!"

What I find less amusing is that the younger generation of Afro-Panamanians appears to have given up on the value of being truly bilingual and this has implications for life in the United States which our generation did not face.

The Problem

The problem I see has less to do with persons like myself who came in the 1960s, with bilingual skills, and who were able to avoid being overlooked. The younger generation comes in a situation that is vastly different and this places him/her in a greatly disadvantageous position.

He speaks English, and has an English name, but this English is oral and can almost be termed a dialect. I recently tried to "time" the pattern of speech of one such person speaking over the telephone. What seemed to come out is about three Spanish sentences, followed by an English phrase.

This "dialect" is all too often not adequate for either employment or even more serious situations. A case in point:

Not too long ago, I was called to accompany a young woman to the hospital for what turned out to be an ectopic pregnancy. The patient, an Afro-Panamanian, carried an English surname. She responded correctly to all questions directed to her by the nurse. However, when she was given a "Release Form" to allow the hospital to perform an emergency procedure, she was unable to interpret the form correctly. This was not a case of illiteracy. She was educated even beyond high school. Her problem was that she handled English only verbally, as it is spoken at home. However, all other formal training was only in Spanish with little attention to what learning formal English can do. This is a common occurrence with English-surnamed Latin Americans, as they are pressured into proving their "Latino status" by "not knowing a word of English." This same individual was later passed over for training in a bilingual program because it was decided that she did not need it.

In employment situations available to Hispanics, I recently counted up to 16 positions becoming available for which English-surnamed Afro-Hispanics were not being considered because they are not seen as part of the Hispanic group. To cite another example, about a year ago there was a position available in the area of housing. I mentioned to those making the the announcement that I knew of an Afro-Panamanian who was well qualified. He had done similar work in a nearby county and furthermore, lived just one block north and another west of the location of the office where the position was to be filled. After waiting for two months for the job description, it was received with only one day's notice before the closing date.

Like the Afro-Panamanians, there are other persons coming from the Central American coastline who fit the pattern I have attempted to outline in this paper, notably, but not limited to Honduras, Belize, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, and Venezuela. In terms of their sojourn in the Americas, the labor of their ancestors, their familial ties, and lifestyles, they must be considered a part of the Hispanic American community. Hopefully, this paper will be a contribution towards this end.

COMMENTATOR

Leila Calhoun Deasy
Florida State University

What a pleasure it is to be at this place, at this time, with you to address issues related to women as new immigrants and refugees. I am distressed that the scheduled speaker could not be here. But her absence does provide me with the opportunity to share thoughts based on experiences that have come to me in my many female roles. Some of the similarities in the experiences of women are very striking, irrespective of color or ethnicity or whether we be native-born, or immigrants.

All of us start out as daughters. Some of us become wives. Fewer of us become mothers. And those of us who are mothers often aspire to become grandmothers. Daughters relate to parents, either one-parent or two parents, to siblings and to members of the extended family. While it is an expectation that wives relate to families of their husbands, mothers relate as well to spouses as father of their children. When children, male or female, marry, mothers relate to those families; and to the offspring of their children. In that context, let me say that when Dr. Springer looked at me and was talking about dancing, I wish I could say that I myself am a dancer. I am not, but my older daughter is a dancer.

Grandmothers relate to children, to grandchildren, with all of their relationships. In fact, I sometimes think that perhaps grandmothers are the most important people of all. I hope to be one some day. The details of the relationships of women differ as a function of culture and of personal experience, but all of us, all of us women, are embedded in these webs of

relationships. The question for me becomes to what extent are women seen in these kinds of contexts? Is a refugee woman seen primarily as a woman, or primarily as a refugee?

To be a woman and to be a refugee is to be placed in double jeopardy in this country. I submit to you that how refugee women are seen is very much related to who is looking and what they are looking for. Let me disabuse you of any notion that Washington, D.C. is representative of the United States. I was born in rural Georgia in Mt. Vernon which is a town of less than 1000. One of my earliest memories is of my father's reaction to the lynching of the major Republican figure in that county in 1930. This man was Black. There is a book that was written about the lynchings that occurred in this country in 1930. It's Arthur Raper's (1933) The Tragedy of Lynching and I think you might want to look at that book for some historical background on the American South. I now live in Tallahassee, Florida, the capital of the state of Florida which is an island in a sea of prejudice. You go five miles in any direction from the center of Tallahassee and you are in the middle of the red-neck South.

The receiving country does not provide a very positive context for newcomers to the United States. The mechanisms for the protection of dignity and liberty are in place, but these mechanisms do not assure a warm reception. Let me remind you of a few facts about the United States in 1982. In the first-place, very few native-born Americans are bilingual. We tend to be very, very bigoted about the rest of the world. When I was a doctoral student at Cornell University, one of my very good friends was a Canadian and an historian. He was appalled at the lack of knowledge of American graduate students about Canada. Canada is contiguous to the United States. Much of Canada is English-speaking. We have very, very similar cultural origins with

our Canadian neighbors to the North. But how many American college graduates can name the Canadian provinces? It would be an interesting thing to test sometime. Very few North Americans have spent significant periods of time overseas and those who do, are likely to relate with enclaves of other North Americans. Our American servicemen are not likely to try to learn the language of the countries in which they spend significant periods of time. We have very little cross-cultural experience and we have very little interest in cross-cultural experience. Native-born Americans tend to be self-satisfied about their lives, and non-receptive to the notion of sharing with others who were not born here.

To add to all of this, the political climate under the present administration is very, very conservative. We have been turned away from what efforts we were making to understand the other peoples of the world. And the most relevant comment, with respect to the circumstances of women, is that the politics and the economy of the country tend to be firmly within the control of native-born, white males, who are not necessarily friends of women. So the fate of women who come here from elsewhere is inextricably interwoven with the fate of women who already are here. Thus, we need to recognize the commonality of the fate of women. However, we should have concern for the men in our lives, in order to get their attention since the power resides with them.

I asked Professor Cohen if she wanted me to tell it like it is, at least from my perspective. And that is what I tried to do.

REFERENCE

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V. IMPLICATIONS FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH

CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR TRAINING

Leila Calhoun Deasy
Florida State University

INTRODUCTION:

The fact that the image of American freedom and opportunity, as exemplified by the American Statue of Liberty, may be tarnished and in need of repair, does not seem to have discouraged others from having come here. The "push of discomfort and pull of hope" continue to attract immigrants and refugees. Most who come have been preceded by acquaintances, friends or relatives who provide orientation, assistance, and reassurance. However, they and their confreres must make their way here in the context of thought patterns and lifeways that may be very different from what they had experienced or expected.

Some attempt to isolate themselves from external influences in this new place by remaining in enclaves where the customs of their native land are perpetrated. Some engage new challenges and opportunities headlong, while others move between these two extremes. Their success in negotiating this new context is a function of many factors: Resources in the form of skills, language, finances, relationships, motivation, and the capacity to handle stress. The question that those interested in training must address is: What contribution can training make to enable them to realize their ambitions and attain their goals, whatever these ambitions and goals may be?

A means of conceptualizing the contribution that training can make for refugees and immigrants is to address the five W's so familiar to media professionals: Who, why, what, where and when? While these topics are

interrelated, we can separate them for discussion purposes.

A. Who Will be Involved In The Training? Two questions deserve attention. They are:

1) For Whom Is The Training Provided?

Is it to be provided for the refugees and immigrants themselves, or for intermediaries who will work with them? Training provided directly of course brings with it the advantages of direct experience with those involved. However, training trainers, one step removed, assures greater coverage for the effort expended. In addition, those already trained may already be in positions which gives them access to immigrants and refugees with whom they will work. As potential trainees one thinks immediately of persons employed by school systems, or in public welfare departments, or in commercial/industrial settings where their works bring them into contact with refugees and immigrants.

2) By Whom Is The Training To Be Provided?

All would agree, I am sure, on the necessity of trainers having familiarity with circumstances from which the newcomers came, as well as with the potentials and problems which face them.

B. Why Provide The Training?

A relatively brief answer to this question should suffice. There is no justification for ignoring obvious needs which can be met through bringing knowledgeable persons together with others who can benefit from their knowledge.

C. What Is To Be The Content of The Training?

This is perhaps the most complex question of all. Its answers will vary as a function of, 1) the particular characteristics and circumstances of the newcomers, 2) the challenges and opportunities which they seek, and 3) the interests and competencies of the trainers. The importance of mutual exchange, including evaluative feedback, should assure that what is offered is considered by trainees to be appropriate and relevant.

D. Where Is The Training To Be Offered?

Are sites familiar to trainees to be utilized? Facilities in indigenous communities frequented by refugees and immigrants often provide an appropriate setting. One thinks of churches or community centers or schools. But, use of such facilities may guarantee non-access to the very refugees and immigrants in whom one is most interested. Choice of a university campus is likely to assure the self-selection of a non-representative group of refugees and immigrants, those who feel most "at ease" in such surroundings. It may be that field work will need to be undertaken in order to discover for one's self the most appropriate setting. Of course setting and program objectives are likely to share certain characteristics. For instance, health training might most appropriately occur in a free-standing clinic, language improvement programs in a school, occupational training on a job site, etc. Whatever the site, selection of an appropriate context is an important issue.

E. When Is The Training To Take Place?

The question of timing is crucial. Initial processes of adjustment to relocation probably should occur before refugees and immigrants launch into a major initiative. Yet, to delay too long may bring about unnecessary hardships and may impede openness to new formulations. Knowledge of successive phases which earlier immigrants and refugees have experienced should sensitize trainers as to the "best times" for the initiation of such program.

Summary:

Attention has been focussed on the questions of "who", "why", "what", "where", and "when" as we have presented a contextual framework for training. Any project can be examined from these perspectives, with the aim of avoiding mistakes which might have negative effects on trainers and trainees.

IMPLICATIONS OF TRAINING MODELS FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

David R. Howell
Office of Refugee Resettlement

During the course of this Conference, we have been presented with examples of a wide variety of activities which have been undertaken by and on behalf of immigrants and refugees. Some are directed explicitly toward facilitating the adjustment of newly arrived refugees, or, perhaps, the development of an ethnic community support structure. Others have related to efforts to understand the processes, relationships and problems of newcomers--individually and as groups--in their lives in the United States. Regardless of the specific subject matter, however, certain commonalities are evident in the presentations which we have heard over these two days. I would like to review these briefly, and after having done so, to provide some observations about what all of this might mean in terms of training.

One theme which has been particularly strong in these papers is the desire and motivation for self-help among immigrants and refugees. Nearly every topic which has been discussed at this Conference contained a clear message that a will to do well in this country, and especially a will to do as much as possible for themselves, is characteristic of these groups. While simple, this is not a trite statement. Community relations issues, refugees assistance programs, and even immigration policy, for example, are all influenced by notions of the contributions and energies brought by these groups, by considerations of their potential roles in this country, and by concerns about their ability to carry their own weight. As evidenced at this Conference, at least, there is both interest and intent in the self-help activities of refugees and immigrants.

A second, related, theme which may be observed in these papers is that of the "new beginning" which residence in the United States presents to these people. While the element of "new, and perhaps never before available" opportunity is part of this theme, I am interested here in a more general meaning: the fact that moving into a new country inevitably requires a great amount of learning, adjustment, and probably frustration in order to go about the business of living in that country. Invariably, initial periods are more difficult, especially for individuals who arrive in places where they are culturally isolated. But as many who have worked with immigrants or refugees, as well as those who have gone through the experience themselves, will attest with certainty, the feeling of starting over is often slow to supplant. This theme affects or is affected by nearly all aspects of the lives of immigrants and refugees, and has major influence as well on all of us who are involved with them.

A third major theme found in these presentations is that for everyone involved, scholars, practitioners, administrators, teachers, and of course the immigrants and refugees themselves, this endeavor is a perpetual apprenticeship. We have all come here saying, essentially, that we do not know all that we need to know about our roles, our progress, or our potential. But we cannot stop time; indeed, for some there is no good, or better, or best time to act. So we are all learning while doing, both from each other and from ourselves. The more an ethnic community becomes organized, or programs become sophisticated, or a research project becomes enlightening, the more is revealed and open to do and learn. This is true for a refugee leader who wants to start a business, or a language instructor who needs to revise a curriculum, or a government which wishes to reconsider the statutory basis of its assistance programs. At the center of this theme,

then, is an implicit recognition of the circular link between the acquisition of knowledge and the use of that knowledge. This is, naturally, a primary reason for our presence here today.

At this point I would like to change formats in order to relate some observations and comments which come to mind in light of these themes. For the sake of brevity and clarity, I will make no attempt to provide continuity to these ideas beyond that which is already afforded by the three themes which were just outlined. They were: the self-help motivation of refugees and immigrants; the new beginning and problems resulting from starting over in a new country; and, the apprenticeship we all serve in being, working with, or studying refugees and immigrants. These themes are interrelated, as one might expect, and pertain to more than one of the following comments, but I shall present the comments in list form, and leave the cross-referencing for you to sort out.

1. Kinds of training

   - The concept "training" usually means that the recipient acquires a specialized skill or knowledge base which can be put to use in certain anticipated contexts. While this may be true, it does not necessarily require that training has to be formal. Much "training" occurs among immigrant and refugee groups, and between these and others with whom they come in contact. Language, social skills, practical skills, and knowledge of options, opportunities and strategies for life in the U.S. come from a variety of sources. Most of these are informal; many are unintended. The value of formal training programs in relation to other sources of informal training is an important consideration for potential recipients and providers in planning the what, where, why, and how long of training programs.

- Training should ideally be performed with appropriate language and cultural sensitivity or accommodation. Training also requires a priori, knowledge and experience in the subject area. These two conditions do not always come together. Therefore, the role of mutual assistance associations as providers of training, or at least of bilingual trainers, is a watershed point in the progress of ethnic groups toward self-help and community viability.

2. What we know about the effectiveness of training

- Literature on immigrant and refugee adjustment and progress has grown rapidly of late. However, that on training of refugees, and to some extent immigrants, is less prevalent. This appears to result from some combination of the following factors: the programs are recent, and the interest and resources to conduct studies of this type are even more recent; there are many ethnic groups, making control for background very complex; length of residence in the United States also varies and is an important factor; outcomes are subject to a myriad of contextual factors. All of this adds up to the fact that evaluation of training is difficult and expensive, and therefore, not as readily available to us as needed nor as prevalent as other kinds of studies on these populations.

- Three evaluative studies of refugee training and its effects are now either under development or in progress and are worthy of mention here. The Bureau for Refugee Programs, Department of State, is planning to contract for a study of the usefulness of English language and cultural orientation programs which it now has in place overseas for all refugees from Southeast Asia. The Office of Refugee Resettlement, Department of Health and Human

Services, has awarded two contracts for evaluation studies: on the extent and effectiveness of English language training programs for refugees in the U.S.; and on the general progress and problems of refugee social and economic adjustment, including the role of services in this adjustment. The former of these will probably be expanded in a later stage to include a parallel review of the usefulness of employment services. These studies will be completed sometime in mid-1983.

3. The role of training from the point of view of many refugees and immigrants

- For many refugees, whose arrival in the U.S. is under circumstances not necessarily of their choosing, and perhaps for many immigrants as well, training provides an experience which frequently serves more than one purpose. Often, the context is as important as the content in helping the recipients improve their ability to develop a new life in this country. Initial orientation and language training, whether prior to or after actual arrival in a community, provide necessary skills to cope with daily activities. However, it also provides emotional and physical "breathing space" for new arrivals, who, in a small group context, can take stock of their new situation while not feeling totally alone in it. Longer, more sophisticated training programs, such as language or job training, provide important skills, but also provide a controlled environment within which the recipient can use skills as they are developed in a period of planned learning. I would like to state clearly, however, that another role, sometimes not so desirable, is given to the training experience. This is as a buffer, or delay period, against venturing into one's new life. Training is not,

and should not be seen, as a substitute for "real" life in the U.S. While extended programs are available and may be appropriate for some, such programs can be and are misused to avoid confronting the realities of adjustment. Evening language classes and on-the-job training are two examples of training which allow the recipients to carry on a more normal daily lifestyle; in my view, these kinds of programs should be encouraged.

4. The role of training from the point of view of a program developer

- In a parallel to the comments just mentioned, those who work in refugee program development (and also programs which serve immigrants) may see certain varieties of roles which training performs for clients as well. The papers in this Conference have reminded me, although I am not directly involved in program development on a full time basis, that we expect training, and the training experience, to perform more than one role for refugees, just as we expect the educational system to do so for our children. Let me merely list these--I know they will sound familiar to you--and make a brief remark on each:

  a. Direct skill development toward self-sufficiency = as a primary goal of the Refugee Program, self-sufficiency is generally viewed as a desired result of the major training programs, such as language job training.

  b. Indirect, or secondary support, toward self-sufficiency = cultural orientation, home management, or consumer awareness may not be the secret to self-sufficiency, but these areas of knowledge do contribute to a more rapid adjustment to life in this country.

As such, they are important contributors to that goal as well.

c. Habituation, or lifestyle adjustment = the opportunity to participate in a context of learning, a daily schedule, and to work with people and materials in that context, is in and of itself, valuable. This is particularly true for those refugees who have lived in camps for extended periods of time, and need a practical example of how everyday life is structured in this country.

d. Training as a research context = the use of and value given to training by refugees can provide a context for learning about individual and group adjustment in this country. Whether it be in the area of cultural value changes, or individual strategy development, the beginnings of an active, and sometimes aggressive, adjustment process are often first visible, and most easily observed, in the use of training programs by refugees.

e. Context for community development and self-help = as has been illustrated several times at this Conference, ethnic community support and initiative of its members to help themselves is the rule among refugees and immigrants, not the exception. Training is an important context in which that process can begin. For example, while technical training, and perhaps even English language training may at the beginning be impossible to provide from among the members of a particular community, certainly initial arrival services, orientation, and other practical skill training for everyday life <u>are</u> appropriate and possible to be provided from within. For some groups this point is long known and practiced; for others it is now just the opportunity to undertake this role. The consensus, however, is clear that self-help, in

the form of community-generated training, holds significant potential for improving the individual and collective progress of refugees.

* I am indebted to Lucy Cohen for her organization of the conference, and to Christine Ochoa for transcribing my comments.

** Views expressed are solely those of the author.

RESEARCH ISSUES REGARDING REFUGEES IN THE UNITED STATES

David Haines
Office of Refugee Resettlement

Given the number of papers we have heard over the last two days and the breadth of their topics, the task of synthesizing is not an easy one. We have had reminders not only of the range of immigrant and refugee groups who have come to the United States but also of the range of people who have become involved with immigrant and refugee concerns. The Conference papers have ranged from narrowly defined research issues to the fuller human dimensions of refugee assimilation and sponsor involvement of which Naomi West spoke so eloquently yesterday.

In my remarks I will limit myself to research issues -- specifically to a discussion of research on refugees. Perhaps too often refugee adjustment has been discussed in isolation from more general patterns of migrant adjustment. However, Dr. Michael Kenny will be addressing these more

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* I am indebted to Karen Rosenblum for a valuable critique of these comments, to Lucy Cohen for her organization of the conference, and to Christine Ochoa for transcribing my comments.

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general patterns of immigrant adaptation, and there are some idiosyncrasies to the refugee experience that may justify at least one more look at refugee research as an area in itself.

It seems to me that there are four distinctive characteristics of the research that has been conducted to date on refugees in the United States. These have all been represented in the presentations in this Conference. The first thing to note about research on refugees is that there is a great deal of it. A considerable number of scholars from various disciplines have devoted significant efforts toward understanding the adjustment of both Cuban and Southeast Asian refugees. Particularly for the latter, there is also a considerable amount of aggregate survey data, both at the national level, and at the state and local levels. The Office of Refugee Resettlement is contributing to this effort through ongoing studies of refugee self-sufficiency and the extent and effects of English language training for refugees. The net result is that there is more raw information on Southeast Asian refugees than I think exists for any comparable immigrant group. This is an important resource both for those interested in refugees per se, and for those interested in comparative work on immigration.

The second distinctive characteristic of refugee research, also true of research on immigration in general, is its interdisciplinary character. Anthropologists, sociologists, social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists, doctors, and economists are all well-represented among those trying to understand the dimensions, structure, and effects of the refugee experience. All of us have been forced to shift more frequently than we might like between discussions of cultural beliefs and aggregate labor force participation rates, between the structure of kinship and the structure

of labor markets in particular American communities, between the dynamics of ethnic community formation and the statistical effects of educational and occupational background on current employment status. This forced eclecticism is a challenge and thus to be valued.

The third characteristic of refugee research involves another kind of forced eclecticism--this one involving the mix of purely academic research interests with programmatic and policy issues at the national, state, and local levels. Beatrice Hackett and David Edwards, for example, are bringing classic anthropological insights on adaptation to bear on pressing programmatic decisions about the placement of refugees. Deborah McGlauflin points out some preliminary findings about the role of refugee women in income generation and income management. Her specific interest stems from a direct programmatic concern with refugees, but the role of refugee women is also an extraordinarily important research issue in its own right. This forced interpenetration among research, program, and policy is again a challenge and therefore to be valued.

The fourth distinctive characteristic of research on refugees is of a rather different kind. In looking at Southeast Asian refugees in particular, we are focussing on now more than 650,000 people who have come to the United States as the result of a more or less common set of conditions in Southeast Asia and who have been subjected to a more or less similar set of conditions in the United States. Nonetheless, there is considerable variety among these people. Perhaps the most obvious variation is in terms of cultural background. Three nationalities and five major ethnic groups are represented -- Khmer, Lao, Vietnamese, Hmong, and ethnic Chinese (most of them from Vietnam) -- as well as some smaller groups such as the Mien and Tai Dam. These people have very long histories

and very complex -- indeed divergent -- cultural traditions and social behavior. While it is tempting and often necessary to make generalizations about Southeast Asian refugees, the generalizations don't always work very well. This, it seems to me, is a particularly creative tension between the utility and seeming plausibility of generalization on the one hand, and significant cultural variation on the other.

Having given my personal impression of the distinctive characteristics and particular potential of research on refugees, I would like to suggest what the next steps may be in analyzing the experiences of refugees, with emphasis on those from Southeast Asia. I see two general and continuing challenges, both of which have been usefully addressed by various of the papers in this Conference. The first challenge is to refine the analysis of particular aspects of refugee adjustment, and the second is to broaden the perspective through which we look at the experiences of refugees.

In refining the analysis of refugee adjustment, one of the obvious examples involves economic adjustment. It has been amply demonstrated that with increasing length of residence in the United States, refugees are more often in the labor force, more often find jobs, and experience a progressive increase in wage and salary income. There are general indications of the sectors of the American economy in which refugees find jobs and some preliminary understanding of the kinds of cities or localities in which refugees appear to be most successful economically. What are not clearly understood, however, are the specific processes by which particular refugees enter equally particular labor markets. Here, David Edwards' paper on the WAPA project in St. Mary's County is very helpful. He explores how a specific set of people with particular kinds of occupational skills and

social needs could effectively find a niche in specific kinds of tobacco tenancy farming within a particular locale. This is precisely the kind of refinement in the analysis of refugee economic adjustment which is needed. Empirically, refugee economic adjustment is the fit between specific refugees and specific contexts and it is important to have more examples like that of St. Mary's County.

A second area where refinement is needed involves family and kinship among refugees. Adjustment, whether in its cultural, social, or economic aspects, is very much a social process and hinges on those core social relations to which we refer when we speak of kinship and family. But again the question is 'how?'. Deborah McGlauflin's paper addresses the question. She points out the economic independence and importance of Vietnamese women, a pattern well-documented throughout Vietnamese history. She then delineates the ways in which women contribute to the economic status of the household, ranging from full-time employment to the more overlooked areas of income supplementation and income management. Her comments help refine the understanding of how the economic self-sufficiency of the household is the function of a variety of complementary economic roles within the household.

With most Southeast Asian refugees, issues of kinship shade into questions regarding the structure and role of the ethnic community. If possible, this is an even more complex area than that of the family. One aspect of ethnic community relations that has drawn considerable attention in recent years involves ethnic organizations, or mutual assistance associations as they tend to be called with reference to Southeast Asian refugees. It is widely accepted that such organizations are growing and have an important role in facilitating refugee adjustment. But what are

the nature and structure of such organizations? How do they develop and what factors facilitate their effectiveness? Sem Yang has spoken directly to the key questions of what are the kinds of issues around which an organization develops, and what are the kinds of activities which maintain the organization over time and strengthen its internal capacity. Again, the concern with an important aspect of refugee adjustment has received some necessary refinement.

The papers in this Conference have thus done well in addressing the challenge of refining the analysis of particular aspects of refugee adjustment. Various of the papers have also addressed the second challenge to refugee research -- the need to broaden the perspective through which we look at refugees. The example that comes first to mind is Marcos Mason's paper on Caribbean ethnic organizations in New York City. He ably describes how such organizations come together around particular purposes, how they divide, and how they cross-cut in various ways by place of origin, occupational status, or recreational interests. The parallels with mutual assistance associations among Southeast Asian refugees are compelling. The lesson is simply that in looking at refugees we are often seeing processes shared by non-refugee immigrants. In broadening the perspective to include both immigrants and refugees, the understanding of various aspects of refugee adjustment is likely to be significantly enhanced.

Another way in which the perspective on refugees needs to be broadened involves the cultural values, social patterns, and skills which refugees bring with them. Much of the general public concern about refugees, for example, has revolved around employment status and a variety of programs have been designed and implemented to facilitate the rapid economic adjustment and self-sufficiency of refugees. The influence of such

programs, however, is often shallow compared to the effects of the experiences and skills with which refugees arrive in the United States. With existing aggregate data it can be demonstrated that the current employment status of refugees is indeed strongly conditioned by the occupational and linguistic skills that predate arrival in the United States. Such a demonstration barely begins to address the complex questions of social and cultural change and continuity among refugees. To what extent and how are other aspects of refugee adjustment conditioned by factors that predate arrival in the U.S.? This need to broaden the understanding of current refugee experiences by more adequately addressing the past may well be the most difficult challenge of all. Despite the extensive American involvement in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, the sociological understanding of these populations in country of origin remains very limited.

Parallel with the need to look more fully at the past, is the need to pay more attention to the future. The influx of Southeast Asian refugees is now only seven years old. This is a very short period of time. While papers, reports, and articles on refugees use such words as adjustment, acculturation, assimilation, adaptation, and absorption, such processes are inevitably multi-generational. Again, the general immigration literature is helpful in showing what a limited temporal slice of social reality we are dealing with when we consider the experiences of Southeast Asian refugees in the United States. In looking toward the future, research on refugees will have to face such challenging questions as the shift from immigrant to ethnic status, the developmental sequences of ethnic community formation, schism, and change, and inter-generational shifts in identity, maintenance of traditions, and level and manner of interaction with the wider American society.

PROBLEMS IN IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE RESEARCH: ANTHROPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Michael Kenny
The Catholic University of America

It is not my intention or task to summarize the substance of the Conference but let me elaborate on some of the emphases which emerged from the Conference, and extend my remarks to cover more general problems inherent in immigration and refugee research. While I speak as an anthropologist, I am not so lost in the contemplation of my own discipline that I cannot see the implications for others. Simplistic though it may sound, I want to stress the difference between the category 'migrant' and 'refugee.' Indeed, one is always wanting to break these categories down: what kinds of immigration or refugees are we talking about (even in the so-called 'new' migration?) All refugees are migrants but the obverse is clearly not true. I shall call both groups migrants. Are they migrants who follow a chain-migration pattern - apersonalized sponsored process of movement based on networks of relatives? Or are they streams of migrants organized and directed by governmental or private agencies - a collective, sponsored process of movement? Both processes - chain-migration and directed-organized migration - are different forms of tutorship, in which from my perspective, the accent should remain squarely on the migrant as

person and not as a pawn in some vast international game of moving categories across the world board.

Clearly, the pattern in the new immigration has been on the organization-directed movement of peoples by agencies of one form or another. This is certainly the case when we speak of refugee resettlement rather than even-sided immigration. Yet once refugees are resettled they, too, indulge in step-migration or secondary migration of the chain type, often without the aid of agencies, as they link up with extended families or networks of friends in new locations.

Thus my first recommendation on implications for research is an old truth for the new immigration. Different forms of migration movements have different consequences for settlement patterns. We have a great deal of literature on settlement patterns in the United States for our previous immigrant streams, certainly since the vast studies begun in 1913 by government. We need to compare these with settlement patterns for new immigrants and refugees and relate these patterns not just to motivations and needs but first to the form of movement in a type of grid whose axes are immigrant-refugee, chain migration - organized migrations.

Fundamental, too, in this kind of research is the question of an established tradition of migration or the absence of that. It is an obvious truth that the arrival of more Cuban refugees in the United States, even if they are of the recent Marile generation, and their impact, adaptation and assimilation when there existed already a large settlement of Cubans in the United States since the 1960s, is a different phenomenon from that of the Cambodian boat people in recent years for whom there was no established tradition of resettlement. We know a great deal about support groups in established so-called 'colonies' of migrants of the same origin as the newcomers. We do not know enough yet about how effective, in comparison,

are the support groups provided by government and private agencies. A United States of America Lutheran welfare agency resettling a Cambodian refugee family in Iowa in 1981 is a very different kind of support group from that of a network of Cuban kin, Cuban friends and Cuban community clubs helping to resettle a Cuban family in Miami or New York. Yet it is heartening, in one respect, to see agencies now attempting to duplicate that natural community among willing and receptive American host families and local institutions. I liken it to a kind of new federalism in resettlement. In the lack of an institutional structure established by the migrants themselves, I see no alternative. But the research worker must not be blinded by the new exotica of immigration to the fact that any study of adaptation must probe the role that migrant institutions, associations, clubs play in the lengthy process of adaptation. Do ethnic clubs serve as a drawbridge into the host country or as a buffer? Do the new support groups provided by agencies hasten the process of assimilation via organized adaptive strategies? Or do they set up just another state of dependence on which the new migrant learns to lean? Are these different kinds of support groups a cushion or hindrance in the process of assimilation? These are perennial research questions which face a new challenge with our new immigrants.

Adaptive strategies come in many sizes and subtleties. Support groups cannot ensure, though they may facilitate, receptivity by host country citizens. The cocoon of dependence which is spun around the new migrant, especially the refugee, and which he himself tends to perpetuate, is pregnant with research potential ... and is one which not only has fascinating facets for the pure research worker (and perhaps for the impure, too) but also for policy makers. The use of support groups by the new migrant is itself an adaptive strategy. The conscious decision he takes

to free himself from the state of dependence and patronage, and try new adaptive strategies is a proclamation of independence which research workers must plot, abstract and analyze.

Lost among these research questions - or at least benignly ignored - is the simple fact that the migrant has a background and a homeland (even if the territorial and political frontiers of that homeland have been altered). The migrant, however new, is not a tabula rasa, not a clean slate on which his future experience in the United States of America is to be written. His life history should not merely be a case history (like a medical sheet) useful to social workers only as a data base for getting him settled and off their case load.

And when we talk about refugees, one should certainly talk about the mentality of being a refugee who in effect is in exile, and certainly Napoleon knew this very well. An exile has tasted the cup of bitterness; he knows that he cannot return to his homeland, a stark fact which makes him wary and resourcefully formed. But in this whole question of what makes up an immigrant and especially a refugee, one cannot ignore the fact that not only is an institutionalized nostalgia reflected in his activities, but if not a mere yearning, then there is, very often, a strong desire to return to that homeland, once things, he hopes, have settled down again. This fact, I find ignored as much today as it was ignored in the 1930s when melting pot assimilation was the vogue. It has been more ignored also in Canada by social scientists despite the vociferous protest by French Canadians who object to the official policy assimilation. The word assimilation has become a dirty word because it meant detribalizing yourself, deculturalizing yourself. I simply would like to add that when in the course of plotting life histories of conformance of migrants, especially refugees, what we are plotting, too, is a process too loosely

called "assimilation." We cannot ignore the ties with the homeland. But I would also see this in terms of plotting when that enculturation process which slips a migrant or refugee child into membership in an expatriate ethnic group, changes over into a process of socialization into which he is prepared to enter as a member of a social class in his host country.

CONTRIBUTORS

Edmund D. Pellegrino
President,
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C. 20064

Roy Simón Bryce-Laporte
Director,
Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies
Natural History Building
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560

C. Richard Parkins
Director of Operations,
Office of Refugee Resettlement
Department of Health and Human Services
Washington, D.C. 20201

Beatrice Hackett
Executive Director,
D.C. Community Humanities Council and
President,
Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists
Washington, D.C. 20006

David Edwards
Ph.D. Candidate,
Department of Anthropology
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

Naomi West
Refugee Coordinator,
Shenandoah District - Church of the Brethren
Dayton, Virginia 22821

John VanDeusen
Anthropologist,
Resources for Human Development, Inc.
120 W. Lancaster Avenue
Ardmore, Pennsylvania 19003

Linda H. Gray
Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C. 20007

George H. Weber
Professor,
The National Catholic School of Social Service
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C. 20064

Sem Yang
Project Director,
Cambodian Mutual Assistance Associations Project
Long Beach, California 90802

Cynthia Coleman
Indochina Refugee Action Center
Washington, D.C. 20036

Marcos Mason
Project Manager,
Undocumented Immigrant Research Project
Urban League
New York, N.Y. 11217

Betty Brodsky
Doctoral Student,
School of Social Work
Adelphi University
Garden City, New York 11530

Leonard D. Borman
Director,
Self-Help Center
1600 Dodge Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201

CONTRIBUTORS
continued

Deborah McGlauflin
Project Director,
Refugee Women's Program Development
and Coordination Project
Indochina Refugee Action Center
Washington, D.C. 20036

Eugenia Franklin Springer
Writer and Lecturer,
Lutt's Productions, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

Dorothea Lowe Bryce
Hispanic Liaison,
Baltimore Conference Commission on
Religion and Race;
Commissioner,
Latino Community Development
Washington, D.C. 20002

Leila Calhoun Deasy
Professor,
School of Social Work
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

David Howell
Program Analyst,
Office of Refugee Resettlement
Department of Health and Human
Services
Washington, D.C. 20201

David Haines
Research Analyst,
Office of Refugee Resettlement
Department of Health and Human
Services
Washington, D.C. 20201

Michael Kenny
Professor,
Department of Anthropology
The Catholic University of
America
Washington, D.C. 20064